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**THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROMANIAN
NATIONAL CHURCH MUSIC (1821–1914)**

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INTRODUCTION

The question of national identity in church music has long been a subject of discussion in Romanian musicology. The overall approach has in effect remained unchanged for almost forty years, since Gheorghe Ciobanu made the last essential contributions. Contemporary musicologists, in keeping with the prevalent opinion of the last one hundred and fifty years, believe that there is a Romanian church chant distinct from its Byzantine source whose features became manifest hundreds of years ago, before crystallising in the nineteenth century, having been influenced by Romanian traditional music, and that it is justified to label this chant *national*. Unfortunately, however, this view is based not so much on scholarly research as much as on a romantic conception according to which each nation has an individual way of manifesting itself and the artistic creations of members of that nation themselves have specific national features.

The latest research in the fields of nationalism and Byzantine music suggests that the view of Romanian chant needs to be rectified. Research in the first of these fields reveals that nations, or at least the majority of nations, are modern social communities that are far less homogeneous than was believed one hundred years ago and denies the existence of characteristics intrinsic to nations that might determine the particularities of their music. The second field, in particular with regard to the interpretation of middle-Byzantine notation, disproves some of the arguments put forward by Ciobanu and his followers in support of Romanian characteristics (for example, the preference for concise chants). In this study I have set out to explore the theme of national identity in Romanian church music, taking into account recent research in the two aforementioned disciplines. Likewise, I have tried to understand the opinion of authors writing on Romanian church music directly from their texts, relying, where the case, on the ideas of the period in which they were written, and to avoid readings filtered through the nationalist lens of later commentators. At the same time, I have considered it important to examine the opinions of the cantors, historians and musicologists who debated the question of national chant

throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the way in which these opinions have changed, and the factors that have underlain these changes. Thus, Romanian national church music seems rather to be a constantly transforming concept than a musical category that might be defined clearly and analysed “objectively”, as the writers I have mentioned have viewed it.

Inasmuch as many of the arguments regarding the characteristics of Romanian church music—some of which have wide currency in pre-university and university musical and theological education—are conjectures that have no basis in the study of a well-defined repertoire, I have considered it necessary to examine Romanian musical scores closely and compare them with their Greek originals or analogues. My analysis has disproven a large part of such arguments.

I have discussed both monodic and harmonic music, not wishing to privilege the one over the other. Nevertheless, due to the fact that the writers I have analysed refer much more often and in a much more varied manner to psaltic chant, this is considerably more represented in the present work. On the other hand, the study of harmonic music has proven essential to an understanding of important aspects of the problem of Romanian national church music.

I have confined my research to the territory of Wallachia and Moldavia—principalities that were under Ottoman suzerainty for centuries up to 1878, and merged under the name Romania in 1862—and I have left aside the musics of Romanians in the Austrian and Russian Empires, which had different histories and peculiarities.

The period under examination is what is usually called the *modern epoch* in the history of the Romanians and roughly coincides with the nineteenth century, “the century of the nation states”. It is the period in which the Romanian nation state was created and won its independence, and in which Romanian society moved to a capitalist economy, Europeanised, and embraced the national idea. The lower limit is 1821—the year of the uprisings led by Alexandros Ypsilantis¹

¹ I give most of the Greek words in their original form and transliterated according to their pronunciation (e.g. Alexandros Ypsilantis, and not Alexander Ypsilantes; Petros Vyzantios, and not Peter Byzantios etc.). However, I transliterate αυ, ευ as au, eu, μπ as mp, and χ as ch, and I

and Tudor Vladimirescu, which marked the end of Phanariote rule and a return to native governance—and is usually regarded as the beginning of the modern period, even if some historians, not without good reason, opt for the years 1831 or 1774 (see Chapter 1). The choice of the year 1821 is also justified for musical reasons: a short while thereafter, Macarie the Hieromonk published the first books of church music in the Romanian language (1823) and laid the foundations of a system of education in church music, actions which led to the dissemination of Romanian-language chants set to musical notes. Likewise, 1823 witnessed the first debates about the characteristics of Romanian chant, discussions that have been continuously cited since the end of the nineteenth century. The upper limit of the interval under examination is the First World War, following which Romania annexed territories with a Romanian majority population, but also a church music tradition that was somewhat different. On the other hand, the last important events to have shaped what I have called Romanian national church music occurred, in my opinion, in the years immediately before the war. Consequently, the lower and upper time limits of 1821 and 1914 define a period rich in events and changes, but which is also coherent from the historical and musical point of view.

I have limited myself to Orthodox church music because this was the religious music of the overwhelming majority in Romanian society. Likewise, I have not found sources to show any influence on the part of the musics of denominations other than the Orthodox Church (Roman Catholic, Protestant etc.). Not least, Orthodox church music is the only religious music which contemporary discussions, within the spatial and temporal limits discussed in this thesis, consider to possess the character of Romanian national music.

The work is divided into five chapters, to which are added conclusions and the present introduction. The first two chapters are brief histories of the Romanians and their music, and their purpose is to describe the context in which

keep the usual Western transliteration for a few words frequently used in the English-language Byzantine musicology: *sticheron*, *heirmos*, *phthora* and others. Likewise, I generally use the modern form of plural (e.g. *protopsaltes*), but the older form in the case of well-known words (e.g. *phtorai*).

the processes analysed in the following chapters unfolded. In writing both chapters, I read and compared reference works, presenting a condensed account according to my own criteria, but without undertaking original research. Chapter 1, *The History of Wallachia, Moldavia and Romania prior to the First World War—Overview*, traces political, social, and cultural aspects of Romanian society. Firstly, I have described the situation at the beginning of the century, and then I have traced the changes prior to the emergence of Romania as a state (1821–1862) and afterwards (1862–1914). In two special subchapters, I have presented the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church and discussed a number of aspects connected to ethnic and national identity.

Chapter 2, *Music in the Romanian Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, lays out the history of the most important musics in Wallachia and Moldavia: church music, traditional peasant music, military music, and Western music, within the same temporal limits as in the first chapter. The greatest space is given over to Western music and the way in which it significantly influenced the other musics under discussion. I have devoted one section each to musical education and contemporary debates about Romanian national music.

In Chapter 3, “*Romanian National Church Music*” in *Musicological Writings*, the longest chapter in the thesis, I have analysed the most influential texts to touch upon the question of the existence of a specific Romanian church music and its national character. I have studied ninety works (scholarly papers, newspaper articles, works on musical history, lectures etc.) by twenty-one authors—musicologists, chanters, ecclesiastical hierarchs, and church music historians—published between 1872 and 2010. I was particularly interested in the way in which the authors define or understand *Romanian* church music, the way in which they combine the term *national* with church music, and the relationship between church music and the Romanian nation. I have presented their opinions on the origin of Romanian church music, its history, personalities, and monuments before the First World War, as well as its characteristics and connexions with other musics. For the first time, this chapter reveals the way in which the image of Romanian church music has changed over time.

Opinions on Romanian church music have varied significantly over time. By the middle of the communist period, however, they had come together and homogenised into a view shared by the majority of musicologists today. In Chapter 4 (*A Critical Reading of Some Common Opinions on Romanian National Church Music*), I have examined to what extent the widely accepted opinions on Romanian chant are true. I have analysed two of the most frequently cited sources—the prefaces of the volumes by Macarie (1823b) and Pann (1845)—in order to establish whether the opinions of the chanters of the first half of the nineteenth century agree with those of today’s musicologists. Likewise, I have compared a series of Romanian chants with their Greek equivalents, with the aim of verifying whether the absence of chromaticisms, the concision of the chants, and the high frequency of certain intervals are characteristic of Romanian chant. The chapter also includes an examination of the origin of the Palm Sunday Canon of Filothei sin Agăi Jipei, usually regarded as being Romanian, and a discussion of the sources of the melodies in the harmonic compositions by authors regarded as traditional.

The last chapter contains my argument with regard to the notion of Romanian national church music and its construction, the title being the same as that of the thesis as a whole. In the first part of the chapter, I have shown that up until the emergence of the Romanian nation state, Romanian chant was not regarded by Romanians themselves as being essentially different from Greek chant. Consequently, the concepts of *specifically Romanian* church music and *national* church music did not arise until the second half of the nineteenth century. I have then examined the mechanism whereby a number of cantors adapted chants in the Romanian language in the particular case of the stichera of the anastasimatarion in the first mode. Finally, I have outlined the construction of national church music both at the imaginary and the real levels, with special regard to the role played by the State.

In the following, I shall lay out in very broad terms the principles of the current theory of the nation and nationalism and the way in which this might be linked to the subject of the present thesis.

MODERN THEORIES OF THE NATION AND NATIONALISM

The varied nature of nationalisms and the diversity of the questions connected to the nation have meant that a general theory of nationalisms and nations has been late in appearing. According to Anthony D. Smith, current theories can be grouped according to four broad paradigms: modernism, perennialism, primordialism, and ethno-symbolism. The first, which is the most widely accepted today, claims that the nation is a modern phenomenon, whose emergence can be dated approximately to the eve of the French Revolution. The perennialist paradigm argues that, contrariwise, nations existed even before the modern period, going as far back as Antiquity. The primordialists are close to the perennialists, but their viewpoint is different: to them, nations are not merely historical and social phenomena, but are based on biological and cultural givens. The ethno-symbolists place the emphasis on the subjective elements (myths, symbols, values, etc.) that characterise *ethnies* and on the way in which these elements have been subject to reinterpretation over the course of time. The various theories view the way in which nations arose, their age, and the nation/nationalism relationship differently, but they are also distinct even in their definitions of nation and connected terms.

The aforementioned paradigms have given different answers to the same questions: modernism has introduced theoretical clarifications, but it has been weaker in its interpretation of history; perennialism, on the other hand, seems to have succeeded at the historical level, but failed at the theoretical level; primordialism has excelled neither in theory nor in history, but it has made a contribution to an understanding of questions related to belonging to an ethnic group; ethno-symbolism has not elaborated theories of its own, but it has made corrections to the existing theories, analysing the subjective and historical aspects of the nation and nationalism (Smith 1998: 221–224; idem 2001: 61). I shall make a short presentation of the four paradigms, mentioning those aspects which, in my opinion, are useful to an understanding of the process by which Romanian church music developed.

The modernist paradigm

The modernist paradigm took shape toward the end of the 1950s, as research into nationalism went beyond the field of history and opened up to political science and sociology, on the one hand, and enlarged its area of study into territories outside Europe, on the other. The new research contested arguments generally accepted thitherto, either because fieldwork disproved them or because there was no methodological means of verifying them. Thus, for example, it was not possible to prove the antiquity of the modern nations, that they were natural and primordial or that they were permanent, in the sense that they might be eternal givens. On the contrary, there was proof of the young age of many nations, in Africa and Asia, as well as in Europe. Likewise, to view pre-modern communities through the lens of the modern nation and nationalism was regarded as an error.

The model put forward by the modernists describes nations as recent political communities, constructed by elites through a series of processes and institutions that are necessarily connected to modernity. Far from being unitary, nations are regarded as being divided into various categories of social groups (by region, class, gender, religion), each of which pursues its own interests (idem 1998: 17–23).

As Anthony D. Smith puts it: “[f]or modernists, the nation is a form of human community possessed of the following characteristics:

- a well-defined territory, with a definite centre and clear and recognised borders;
- a legal-political community, with a unified legal system and institutions in a given territory;
- mass participation in social life and politics by all the members or ‘citizens’;
- a distinctive mass public culture disseminated through a system a of standardised, mass public education;
- collective autonomy institutionalised in a sovereign state for a given nation;

- membership in an ‘inter-national’ system or community of nations;
- legitimisation, if not creation, by and through the ideology of nationalism” (idem 2005: 95).

Without denying the existence of ethno-cultural groups prior to the nineteenth century, modernism believes that there is a fundamental qualitative difference between these and nations. Likewise, as a rule it attributes a secondary role to the cultural elements of these ethnic groups in the process of the formation of nations and argues that ethnicity does not provide any clues as to the place where nations were to emerge. Moreover, nationalism can transform old cultures into national cultures—more often than not by means of romantic distortions and exaggerations—just as it can eliminate them and invent new ones in their stead, the result most often being a culture that does not resemble the previous culture, or rather cultures (idem 1998: 32–34, 49–50, 59–60, 82, 113, 117–121, 127).

Modernism occurs in a number of variants, according to factors which theorists believe to be crucial or worthy of study in the processes of the emergence of nationalism and the creation of nation states. The theories of the 1960s and 70s privileged socio-economic causes—the unequal development of industry (Ernest Gellner, in his early writings) or capitalism (Tom Nairn, Michael Hechter)—whereas in recent decades socio-cultural—the dissemination of a *high culture* (a literary, urban, specially cultivated and standardised culture; Gellner) to the masses by means of a compulsory public education system—and political factors—the indissoluble link between nationalisms, nations, and modern states (Anthony Giddens, John Breuilly, Michael Mann)—have come to the fore. Other theories have viewed nationalism as a European ideology invented at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which has had destructive effects on the African and Asian societies that have adopted it (Elie Kedourie), or have presented nations and nationalism as cultural artefacts and constructs (Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson) (ibidem: 27–142; idem 2001: 47–48, 62–70, 73–76, 78–82).

The modernist paradigm does not embrace romantic nationalism’s vision

of national character. The modernists believe that national identities² were not rediscovered, but rather appeared at the same time as the nation, in the modern era. The national cultures were constructed by the elites and then disseminated to the masses by a process of civic education, orchestrated by means of compulsory education, censuses, maps, museums, plebiscites, etc. Citizens were taught to identify themselves with national customs, myths, folklore and symbols, presented in a romantic/sentimental manner, a part of them being pure inventions. Each nation took care to forge for itself a series of elements of national identity—a *checklist*, as Anne-Marie Thiesse calls it—that would ensure it had an honourable status in the company of the other nations. The list includes “a history that laid down continuity in relation to the great forebears, a series of heroes exemplary of the national virtues, a language, cultural monuments, a folklore, notable places and a typical landscape, a specific mentality, official insignia—an anthem and flag—and also identifying marks of a picturesque order: costume, culinary specialities, or an emblematic animal” (idem 1998: 32–34, 50, 92, 118–121; Anderson 1995: 164–185; Thiesse 2001: 13–14).

The perennialist paradigm

Although the modernist paradigm has not been adopted by every researcher into nationalism, the alternative theories have been obliged to take account of the modernists’ arguments. The perennialists have contested the view that the nation is a modern phenomenon, either arguing that the idea of the nation has always existed in history, even if nations arise and vanish,³ or identifying a limited number of present-day nations that are supposed to have existed even prior to the modern period—since the Renaissance, Middle Ages, or, more rarely,

2 The term *national identity* has replaced the older *national character* and *national consciousness* (Smith 2001: 17).

3 Among the nations of Antiquity that no longer exist might be included the Egyptian, Assyrian and Persian. Of course, the criteria for defining ancient nations cannot wholly coincide with those that define the modern nation (Smith 2001: 102–107).

Antiquity⁴—and believing that in these cases pre-modern ethnic ties have played a more important role than the phenomenon of modernisation. For example, Hugh Seton-Watson distinguishes between old nations (the English, Scots, French, Dutch, Castillians, Portuguese, Danes, Swedes, Hungarians, Poles, and Russians), which evolved slowly and without any particular plan, and the new nations created by nationalist leaders after 1789 on the basis of models and in very short periods of time, using the written word and modern communications (Smith 1998: 172–173; idem 2001: 50–51).

The problem of the age of a nation is linked to the proportion of those who regard themselves as members of that particular nation. Walker Connor believes that the nations are much younger than the modernists usually claim.⁵ National consciousness is a mass phenomenon, he argues, and the elites' conception of the nation is often different from that of the masses. Around the year 1900, on their arrival in the United States, East European emigrants were described as members of nations if they were intellectuals or from large cities, and as members of regions if they were peasants (Croats were Dalmatians, Istrians or Slavonians, for example, Italians were Neapolitans, Calabrians, etc.). The situation seems not to have been much different in Western Europe, given that people from the French countryside and small towns did not regard themselves as members of the French nation in 1870. Connor even argues that the Italian nation had not yet been born in 1980, given the languages spoken at home by Italians and their opinion of themselves (Connor 1994: 218–223; cf. Hermet 1996: 56).

On the contrary, perennialist historians such as Adrian Hastings believe that it is not necessary to identify the nation as a mass phenomenon, but rather it is sufficient that this should be valid for the majority of people outside governmental circles (in the case in which the society in question is not overwhelmingly made

4 The Jews, Armenians and perhaps the Greeks might be taken as examples of nations that have existed from Antiquity to the present day (ibidem: 104–107, 110–111).

5 A.D. Smith includes Connor in the perennialist paradigm, given his view of *ethnies*. On the other hand, his conception of the moment when the nations emerged can be regarded as a radical variant of modernism (idem 1998: 161–163).

up of peasants and nobles). He believes that the documents point to the fact that the English felt themselves to be a nation as early as the fourteenth century and that they used the term in a sense quite close to the current usage, while John Gillingham places the limit even further back in time, in the eleventh century⁶ (Smith 1998: 171–172, 176; idem 2001: 93–97).

The primordialist paradigm

The primordialists claim that the nations are characterised by biological or cultural essences, which generate primordial bonds. The first variant of primordialism, the socio-biological, whose exponent is Pierre van den Berghe, believes that it is possible to trace nations, ethnic groups and races back to a genetic substratum, that ethnic groups have functioned as endogamous super-families for the greater part of human history that that they have perpetuated themselves through strategies of nepotism and inclusive fitness. Cultural elements (language, religion, hairstyles, etc.) are used as indicators of shared biological descent; consequently, cultural identity is supposed to reflect close genetic kinship (idem 1998: 147–150; idem 2001: 52).

The second variant of primordialism, developed by Clifford Geertz, claims that attachments are cultural in nature: people sense and believe in the primordality of their communities and accept the “givens” that characterise them (religion, language, kinship, customs, etc.). This does not mean that Geertz is convinced of the intrinsic nature of the givens, however. He treats the way in which people relate to these elements as a reality, rather than the elements in themselves (idem 1998: 151–152; idem 2001: 52–54).

The ethno-symbolist paradigm

6 In an important work, Liah Greenfield argues that the first manifestations of the nation and national sentiment appeared in England in the early sixteenth century (Smith 1998: 170–171). The history of England seems to furnish the most data to support the existence of a nation long before modernity. On the other hand, John Breuilly contests the arguments of the perennialists and ethno-symbolists, arguing that it is not a question of English identity having arisen long ago, but rather a series of different identities, shared by a relatively limited number of people (Breuilly 2005: 19–34).

The ethno-symbolists (John Armstrong, Anthony D. Smith, John Hutchinson) are interested in particular in the relationship between ethnic communities and the subjective elements linked to them: myths,⁷ symbols, memories, values, sentiments. This relationship and the way in which it has changed are analysed over *la longue durée*, at the level of both the elites and the lower social strata, and the modern nations are explained as individual variations of ethnic communities and in close connexion with the communities that have preceded them and from which they have been formed. Attachment to the nation—to the ethnic community in general—is in the opinion of the ethno-symbolists a key question, and their answers to it are historical and sociological in nature (in contrast to the more “metaphysical” approach of the primordialists and the lack of interest or detailed research evident in the other paradigms; *ibidem*: 57–60).

Anthony D. Smith distinguishes a number of types of ethnic community. According to him, an *ethnie*⁸ is a human community which has a name, is linked to a territory, and whose members share myths of common ancestry, memories, one or more elements of culture and a certain solidarity, at least at the level of the elites. *Ethnies* are distinguished from *ethnic categories*—populations that have shared cultural attributes and whose common name, origin and history are attributed to them by outside observers, even if the populations themselves do not have myths of shared origin—through the myths they possess and through the cohesion of the elites.⁹ *Nations* are distinguished from *ethnies* by the fact that they rule the territory to which they are linked (or at least display a desire for

7 The meaning of the term *myth* is an imaginary construction. This does not imply any contradiction between myth and reality (cf. Boia 1997: 7–8).

8 Pierre van den Berghe uses the anglicised term *ethny* (in contrast to the French form *ethnie* used by Smith), arguing that it is necessary that English should possess a substantive to designate ethnic groups. He also mentions the difficulties involved in translating the term into Greek (van den Berghe 2005: 114–115).

9 It should be noted that over time a population can oscillate between ethnic category and *ethnie*. Likewise, to make population an ethnic category does not necessarily mean that this does not display or has not displayed the qualities of an *ethnie*; it may be the case that it once possessed these, but without this being recorded in any source or it being possible to deduce it.

autonomy), they possess not only shared myths and memories, but also a standardised national history, share a public culture, and have a single economy. In the case of the nations, the solidarity of the elites is extended to the level of the masses, with each citizen having equal rights and duties. Nations usually originate from *ethnies*,¹⁰ whose name, myths and memories they adopt, reinterpret and combine with new ones, before distributing them via public institutions¹¹ (idem 2001: 12–14, 108–109; idem 2005: 98–99).

Ethnic identity and national identity hold an important place in the approach of the ethno-symbolists, Smith in particular, thanks to their interest in the subjective aspects of the *ethnies* and lower strata of society. In Smith's view, national identity includes two components: on the one hand, "the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations", and, on the other, "the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements."¹² Smith believes that in Western Europe, national identity is predominantly territorial, while in Eastern Europe and Asia it is centred on shared ancestry and culture, with the two forms of identity usually coexisting within a certain space to various degrees. The elements of western national identity are territory, homeland (viewed as a community of laws and institutions with a single

10 There are also nations that have no antecedent *ethnie*, particularly in America and sub-Saharan Africa (Smith 1991: 40–41).

11 In a recent text, Smith reformulates the definition of nation, shifting the emphasis away from the characteristics of the nation and towards the processes that lead to the acquirement of these characteristics and the way in which the members of the nation relate to them: "a named and self-defined community whose members cultivate common myths, memories, symbols and values, possess and disseminate a distinctive public culture, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, and create and disseminate common laws and shared customs." Likewise, Smith abandons the condition of a single economy and replaces the criterion of ruling a territory with that of the residence of numerous members within a historic territory (idem 2005: 98–99).

12 Smith argues that a distinction should be made, the same as in the case of other terms from the sphere of nationalism, between the *concept* of national identity, provided by the above definition, and national identity as the *ideal* of nationalist ideology (idem 2001: 18, 27).

political will), citizenship and a shared civic ideology and culture. The elements of eastern identity are genealogy and supposed bonds of common ancestry, vernacular languages, mass mobilisation, customs, and traditions (idem 1991: 9–12; idem 2001: 18–20).

Smith devotes much space to the study of *ethnies* and ethnic identities, because he believes that these have played an important role in shaping nations and national identities. He distinguishes between *lateral ethnies* (e.g. the Normans, Hittites, and Sassanids), which were dispersed over a large area and made up of aristocrats and high clergy, sometimes including bureaucrats, high-ranking officers and rich merchants, and *vertical ethnies* (e.g. the Israelites, Sikhs, and Irish), which are found in the case of city states, enclaves of émigrés, rural tribal confederacies, and warlike frontier tribes, in which culture was diffused throughout the social hierarchy and religion most often played an essential role (idem 1991: 26–28, 53–54).

Smith allows the existence of a few nations before the modern period—those mentioned above, plus Switzerland, Ireland, Japan, and Safavid Persia, with the observation that all the mediaeval nations originated from lateral *ethnies*—and argues that the individuality of the nations since the French Revolution is that they have been based on an ideology (nationalism) and copied the model of the English and French nation of the middle class. The model has had particular success in the case of the vertical *ethnies*, especially in Eastern Europe. Here, intellectuals have tried to harmonise western processes of forming the nation with a programme of rediscovering a (subjective) ethnic history and vernacular culture, more often than not replacing or reinterpreting old traditions and religious myths. As a result, the identity of such nations has adopted much from the identity symbols, myths and values of the *ethnie* from which they have originated or of the majority *ethnie*, in cases where the nation has arisen on a territory populated by multiple *ethnies* (idem 1991: 62–68, 127–130; idem 2001: 109–117).

The problem of nationalism in Romanian church music

Of course, it would go beyond my competence to comment on the validity of the

aforementioned theories. Regardless of the paradigm, I have adopted those observations I have thought best applicable to Romanian society and its church music. Like the modernists, I take the Romanian nation and Romanian nationalism to have emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century—something also accepted by proponents of the other paradigms—but like the ethno-symbolists I have taken into account that at the base of the nation there was a centuries-old Romanian *ethnie*. I have taken *nationalism* to be an ideology according to which nations are the most important forms of social organisation, each nation is entitled to rule the territory in which it lives, and national identity is higher than regional, local, occupation, religious etc. identity. I have not ascribed negative or positive connotations to the nation or nationalism nor have I wished to discuss binaries of the national/nationalist or patriotism/nationalism type.

In these circumstances, Romanian *national* church music is a music that took shape at around about the same time as the Romanian nation. On the one hand, it is the music that the nation validated as being *its own*, regardless of its origin, the age of the pieces it includes, the ethnicity of its authors and cantors, the stylistic characteristics of its compositions and performance, or its likenesses to and differences from other church musics. On the other hand, as I shall argue at the end of the final chapter, nationalism led to the shaping of a music distinct—as far as repertoire, style, performance etc. are concerned—from Romanian church music prior to the middle of the nineteenth century: this music, in my opinion, can rightfully be called *national*.

Consequently, my research has traced the way in which the idea of national church music appeared, the way in which the image of this music changed over time, and likewise the processes that led to a church music distinct from that which existed before the emergence of the Romanian nation.

The fact that this approach is new and wholly different from that of previous research into Romanian church music—which considered Romanian church music to be national because it had specific features that distinguished it from the musics of other nations, its authors were Romanians, it was linked to the Romanians by a long history, and it reflected the struggle against Greek

Phanariote rule¹³—led me not to devote any separate section to the current state of research (a procedure that is often the case in doctoral theses). Nevertheless, these opinions are laid out at length in the last part of Chapter 3. Likewise, I did not think it necessary to present a bibliography which, although it provides an up-to-date picture of nationalism, deals with art music, inasmuch as the differences between this and church music are significant.¹⁴

Finally, I would like to point out that I have not set out to discover particular features of Romanian church music. I have dedicated the greater part of Chapter 4 to discussing its specific features only in order to prove that the view of this music held by the writers discussed in Chapter 3 is mistaken. It is possible that Romanian church music (whether national or no) might have distinct features, but whatever case might be, they are not those currently cited by Romanian musicology.

13 A similar view of Byzantine music as Greek national music can be found in Στάθης 1980.

14 Nevertheless, I have adopted some approaches and ideas from Bohlman 2004, Taruskin 2001 and Stokes 1997, such as: music marks national borders and serves as a vehicle and symbol for the construction of place; choirs may be seen as the embodiment of the nation-state as an amalgam of different classes and types of people; it is possible to draw a parallel between the role print culture has had in shaping imagined communities and that of printed song books; the fact that the reception of a work as national is more important than the origin of its elements or the author's intention for it to be so, etc.

CHAPTER 1: THE HISTORY OF WALLACHIA, MOLDAVIA AND ROMANIA PRIOR TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR—OVERVIEW

THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES BEFORE 1821

The status of Wallachia and Moldavia up to the Filiki Etairia rebellion

Wallachia (Rom.: *Țara Românească*, i.e. the Romanian Land) and Moldavia emerged in the mid-fourteenth century, when the tiny political units south and east of Carpathians merged together under a voivode (military leader). During the first two centuries of their existence, the principalities were vassals of one or other of their powerful neighbours: the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, and the Ottoman Empire. As long as there was a balance between the three major forces, the Romanian principalities were quite autonomous, alternating their alliances as appropriate. Moreover, when the politic context was favourable, some voivodes denounced the vassalage treatises, thereby gaining temporary independence. The situation changed with the defeat of Hungary in the early sixteenth century and the permanent domination of the region by the Ottoman Empire, which became the sole ruler of the two principalities for the next three hundred years. The fact of their belonging to the same empire and having a similar political structure contributed to the rapprochement of Wallachian and Moldavian societies, in particular after 1700.

The Romanian lands were tributary to the Ottoman Empire but enjoyed autonomy. According to Islamic jurisprudence, their status fell somehow between those of the two major geographic divisions: *dâr al-Islam* (i.e. the House of Islam, territories in which Muslims could practice their religion freely and in which Muslim laws were applied; most of the Ottoman Empire belonged to this “house”) and *dâr al-harb* (the House of War, non-Islamic zones at war with the sultan and which were permitted only a temporary peace, according to the *djihâd* ideology).¹

1 Although the autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia is accepted by all historians, there are still debates about their juridical status in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, whether House of

The prince—usually elected for life by the local nobility, from the closer or more distant relatives of former princes—acknowledged the sultan’s authority, paid a yearly tribute, supplied troops to the Ottoman Empire on demand, and conducted diplomatic relations only via the Porte.² The sultan confirmed the prince, sometimes imposing a prince against the nobles’ will, but did not interfere in the internal politics of the country. Unlike the territories integrated within the empire, Muslims did not build mosques, own property (or only very seldom), or settle in Wallachia and Moldavia (Georgescu 1995: 64–66; Boia 2001: 62–63).³

The rise of the Habsburg and Russian empires impelled the Porte to make changes in the regime of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Ottoman Empire desired that the Danubian Principalities should be administrated by loyal and efficient leaders, who would be able to furnish the economical resources it needed. In early eighteenth century, the Sultan came to realise that the local nobility was far from being loyal. Thereafter, rulers were appointed solely by the Sultan, and were chosen mainly from the Greeks of Phanar (whence the name *Phanariote Age*, which Romanian historians give to the period 1714–1821), and governed for a

Peace, or, following another Islamic school of jurisprudence, House of Truce or House of Treaty (in Arabic: *dâr al-sulh*, *dâr al-ahd*, *dâr al-muvâdâia*, *dâr al-dhimma*; Panaite 1999).

- 2 The payments to the sultan were small and intermittent at first. They increased in time and became regular in Wallachia in 1462 and in Moldavia in 1538. Generally, Romanian historians view these years as marking the transition from a tributary regime to one of vassalage (Hitchins 1996: 5–6; Georgescu 1995: 65).
- 3 The autonomy of the Romanian Principalities differs essentially from that of the other peoples within the Ottoman Empire. Romanian autonomy was exercised at both the central and local level, in contrast to the other peoples, which were limited to the local level or to certain domains (the Christian *millet*). Likewise, it differed in nature from the autonomy of the smaller Montenegro, a nominally dependent territory, but in effect out of the Sultan’s control and for a long time lacking any central organisation. In the Balkan region, Transylvania (part of the Ottoman Empire between 1541 and 1688) and the town of Dubrovnik enjoyed greater autonomy than the Principalities (1458–1806). (Jelavich 1990: 36–112 [especially 39–40, 48–53, 57–62, 73–76, 80–86, 88–89, 91, 95–103], 150–152). Moreover, the Romanian boyar class did not owe their status to the Ottoman regime, in contrast to the nobles of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the old Islamised nobility) or the Phanariotes, who were nobles in the imperial service (Jelavich 1990: 88–89; Durandin 1995: 82).

limited period, between two and three years on average. Furthermore, the army was in effect abolished and diplomatic relations were strictly forbidden (Hitchins 1996: 12–13).⁴

Conflicts between the three great powers had a strong impact on the Principalities. Wars between the empires were to a large extent waged on the territory of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Romanian lands were occupied by the Russians and Austrians several times. Moldavia was divided in two: the north-western part was annexed by the Habsburg Empire (1788) and the eastern by Russia (1812).

In 1774, by the treatise of Kuchuk Kainardji, the Russian Empire gained the right to represent the Principalities in Constantinople. Russia's ambassadors took pains to limit the abuses of the Porte, improving to some extent the situation of Romanians. Romanian nobles submitted numerous petitions to Russia, France and Austria, urging them to place the question of the status of the Principalities on the European diplomatic agenda, as part of the "Oriental problem". The Lower Danube began to interest the great powers, which established consulates in Bucharest and Jassy after the peace of Kuchuk Kainardji. By moving closer to Europe, the nobles were trying to escape from Ottoman dominion. This was to come about in the mid-nineteenth century (Hitchins 1996: 14–15, 43–57).

Early-nineteenth-century society

Towards the end of the Phanariote age, Wallachia had more than one million inhabitants and Moldavia about 700,000.⁵ The greater majority of the inhabitants

4 Recently, historians have contested the opinion according to which the Phanariote period was a distinct interval in the history of the Principalities. Bogdan Murgescu regards the Phanariote period as a modern historiographic construct employed in order to define the epoch of national rebirth in the nineteenth century by contrasting it with the dark Phanariote period that preceded it and in connection with an older golden age. According to Murgescu, there was no specifically Phanariote regime or any change in the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Principalities in the eighteenth century. It was not until 1800 that the additional condition that the future ruler be one of the Sultan's dragomans appeared (B. Murgescu 1995).

5 For estimates of the population of the two Principalities between 1774 and 1832 see Hitchins

was Christian Orthodox, lived in the countryside and spoke a Romance language, Romanian, which was almost identical in its varieties in the two countries. The people of Wallachia called themselves *rumâni* (Rumanians), and those of Moldavia *moldoveni* (Moldavians).

Society was divided into two broad categories: the elite (nobles and high clergy), and all the rest. There was not yet any bourgeoisie similar to that in Western Europe, but only a small number of rich merchants and master craftsmen, whose prosperity set them apart from other townsfolk, and who used their wealth to elevate their social status and join the nobility.

The common people were mainly employed in agriculture: cattle breeding (sheep, cattle, pigs) in the mountains and hills, and grain farming (mainly corn and wheat) and viticulture in the hills and plains. They were free,⁶ as serfdom had been abolished by Konstantinos Mavrokordatos in the mid-eighteenth century, as a result of enlightened thinking and in order to increase the number of taxpayers, but few of them were landowners.⁷ Most of the peasants paid tithes to a nobleman or a monastery, surrendering a tenth of their harvest, working for 12 days a year, and performing other small tasks in return for use of the land (Hitchins 1996: 63–65, 72–81; Djuvara 1995: 228, 232).

A tenth of the population lived in the towns. The townsfolk were not much different from the villagers, as many towns were nothing more than big villages. With the exception of the capitals, Bucharest and Jassy—which had a population of tens of thousands people and where palaces and gardens could be found amidst slums and unpaved roads—few towns had more than a thousand inhabitants. Half of the urban populace made their living from agriculture or from a combination of agriculture and commerce or crafts. Increasing numbers of town-dwellers made

1996: 58–59; Georgescu 1995: 96; Djuvara 1995: 67–69; Murgescu 2010: 51).

6 With the exception of the Gypsy slaves presented at the end of this subsection.

7 About one third of the peasants were landowners in the early nineteenth century (for this figure I have made use of the data given by Djuvara 1995: 227–228; Georgescu 1995: 101; and Hitchins 1996: 177). The land belonged to the whole village, and its council decided how the fields were allotted. Land was plentiful enough in some places for each family to take as much as it could work (Djuvara 1995: 233).

their living solely from commerce or crafts. They organised themselves in guilds along professional and also ethnic lines. Most of the merchants and bankers were foreigners: Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Another emerging class was that of the liberal professions: lawyers, physicists, teachers, and clerks. However, their number was considerably smaller (Hitchins 1996: 65–66).

Boyars made up the noble class. For centuries, they had been the elite in every respect. They were landowners, either inheriting their estates—sometimes their ancestors had owned them since even before the foundation of the two Principalities—or receiving them as a reward for loyal service to their ruler.⁸ They were economically independent and had juridical, administrative, fiscal and police responsibilities on the estates they owned. It was from their ranks that top administrative, political and church staff was recruited.

Because of the new international situation, economic difficulties, social changes ushered in by the Phanariotes, and contact with European civilisation and Enlightenment, the Romanian aristocracy underwent a transformation in the early nineteenth century.

The Phanariote rulers re-defined the status of the upper class as early as the first decades of government. Up until 1740, the boyars were defined as both people of noble origin and people serving at court. Thereafter, following the reforms of Konstantinos Mavrokordatos, boyars were to be only those who held positions in the bureaucracy. A lot of positions were sold, allowing people with money to enter the nobility. A further reform was instituted in Wallachia under Alexandros Ypsilantis (1775): the nobility were divided into five ranks and the fiscal, economic and social privileges of the gentry were significantly reduced (ibidem: 61).

The restructuring of the social hierarchy gave rise to further conflicts among nobility. Those who had been disadvantaged envied and blamed the others: petty nobles were against the high nobility; old landowners against the new boyars who had purchased their titles; the provincial nobility against the nobles resident

8 At the beginning of the nineteenth century the boyars owned more than half of the land and the peasantry about a third, the rest being in the possession of monasteries.

in the capital; the local nobility against Greeks. The only idea capable of uniting the greater part of the nobility was the removal of the Phanariote administration and autonomy from the Porte.

The changes in boyars' lifestyle were even more significant than the changes in their social status. These changes resulted from contact with the West via the Phanariote princes and officers in the Russian and Austrian occupying armies. Costly expenditure on city living, luxuries or Viennese furniture became a must for those who wished to make a show of belonging to the high nobility.⁹ It was not unusual for small provincial noblemen to imitate the high boyars' way of life, accumulate debts they were unable to pay and end up bankrupt (*ibidem*: 61–63; Djuvara 1995: 101–105).

In the new circumstances, boyars needed to find new sources of income besides their customary ones (cattle trading, meat, wine and spirits, milling, and money received in lieu of statutory labour). Some of them began to look on their estates as private propriety and felt they had no obligation toward the peasants with regard to their fields. Consequently, they started to impose tithes on lumber, grazing, hunting and fishing. This new approach to land property had been passed into law in Wallachia by 1818. Furthermore, the boyars developed new activities: they opened the first factories, rented out their estates or themselves became lessees or traders. In the context of the need for an income, the entry of rich traders and moneylenders into the nobility prompted a change in approach to occupations such as land leasing and trade, which had previously been regarded as beneath the dignity of aristocrats (Hitchins 1996: 62–63, 82–90).

The Gypsies occupied a place apart in society. They were the slaves of the boyars, monasteries and rulers.¹⁰ They probably numbered more than 150,000 in

9 Foreigners were often astonished by the extravagant spending of the boyars and the costly clothes of their wives.

10 Slavery was similar to serfdom, but the social status of the slaves was inferior. They had no legal rights or freedom of movement. Their master might sell them, bequeath them, use them for all kinds of labour, punish them however he saw fit, and authorise their marriage, but he was not allowed to kill them. In addition, slave owners had to feed and clothe the slaves they held on their estates.

the two Principalities, i.e. 5–10% of the population in each country. Part of the Gypsy population was sedentary, forced to perform the duties of domestic servants (coachmen, cooks, laundresses, chamber maids) or craftsmen (tailors, smiths, masons, carpenters, musicians) for their masters. The nomadic Gypsies practised seasonal migration and were smiths, cooper-smiths, spoon makers etc. who made a living by selling their wares. Romanians viewed them with mistrust and had minimal social relations with them, especially with the nomads (Achim 1998: 38–44, 54–56, 76–82; Djuvara 1995: 267–270).

The cultural context in the early nineteenth century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Wallachians and Moldavians considered themselves part of the wider Orthodox family, and any other type of self-identification (ethnic, regional etc.) was secondary.¹¹ Almost the whole of society professed Orthodox Christianity, although the way in which this was understood and experienced differed according to class and background. The monasteries, in particular those in Moldavia, underwent a process of spiritual renaissance, brought by St Paisiy Velichkovsky, combining a harsh regime of prayer and physical labour with translation from the writings of the Church Fathers and the copying of manuscripts. At the other extreme were the peasants, for whom keeping the fasts was often more important than Church teachings, of which knowledge was often vague and mixed up with all kinds of superstitions (Teodor, in Bărbulescu 2002: 255–256; see also Barbu 2000: 23–31; Mazower 2000: 56–58).

Like religion, Romanian was an element of national identity shared by the upper and the lower classes. It was the customary language in both speech and writing, having replaced Slavonic in the seventeenth century as the language of

¹¹ The percentage of religious minorities was very low. Jews and Armenians represented less than 1% of the population and were distinct from the rest of society by their religion, language and professions (Djuvara 1995: 178–179). About 2% of the population of Moldavia (16,000 persons) were Catholics of different rites, some of them being Romanians (Dumea 2006: 174–178, 187–188, 193–194, 202).

official documents and private literature. Greek had gained in importance during the Phanariote period, and by the 1810s it was used in the legal system, international trade and even the princely chancellery (Camariano-Cioran 1974: 3). At the same time, Greek was the language of high culture, its status being similar to that of French in the West. Most courses of higher education were taught in Greek and it was in Greek translation that the works of French, English and German Enlightenment writers circulated. Not least, many Romanian boyars spoke and wrote fluently in Greek (Hitchins 1996: 121–122).

The two countries were, of course, part of the Balkan cultural space. But European influence had begun to make itself felt after the peace of Kuchuk Kainardji and, above all, during the period of Russian occupation, from 1806 to 1812.¹² The most visible change was in styles of dress, and in the salons caftans mingled with western frock coats and dresses. While men were more reserved when it came to western costume, the boyar ladies adopted Parisian and Viennese dresses, dances and lifestyles very quickly. Their desire to be in step with Europe was so obvious that it made one Russian officer exclaim, not without malice and masculine pride: “On finding out that it was the done thing in civilised countries for a woman to have a lover, the ladies from Moldavia took two each, in order to be as fashionable as possible” (Djuvara 1995: 102).

Europe had penetrated not only high society, but also intellectual life. Manor houses employed not only cooks and gardeners from the West, but also preceptors, secretaries and piano professors. The boyars were familiar with the ideas of the Enlightenment and French Revolution, which they adopted selectively, adapting them to the Romanian situation. Their writings, mostly plans for political reforms, were imbued with the critical spirit, faith in reason and order, and the idea of national liberty. In contrast to westerners, they were only

12 Vlad Georgescu argues that in 1800 Romanian society was closer to Constantinople and further from Europe than in any other period in the history of the Principalities. He goes as far as to say that three or four generations previously the late-eighteenth-century oriental lifestyle would have been considered as untraditional as the European lifestyle was in 1800 (Georgescu 1995: 75–76, 122–125).

vaguely interested in philosophical and religious questions. They were not anti-clerical. On the contrary, Church hierarchs were among the leading members of the Romanian Enlightenment.

The authors of these plans for reform viewed the epoch in which they lived as one that was decadent, a bronze age. They situated the golden age in the second half of the seventeenth century, a more peaceful period politically speaking, when culture, and Romanian-language culture in particular, had undergone a rapid growth. They saw their own times as overtaken by disorder and insecurity, for which the Phanariote administration and Ottoman domination were responsible. Nor did the local elite escape opprobrium, being blamed for collaboration with the Phanariotes, inability to govern, and unwillingness to share power with the rest of the boyar class. The alternative proposed by those who drew up such political projects was rooted in the golden age, but potentiated by widely circulating contemporary ideas, such as national sovereignty and the social contract. The authors militated for the replacement of the corrupt Phanariote administration with an efficient native government, in which public posts were awarded according to merit and remunerated with fixed salaries, the elimination of abusive practices, lower taxes, and respect for property rights. The choice of a monarchy, preferably a form of enlightened absolutism, was almost unanimous, but there were also eccentric proposals, such as a *aristo-democratic republic government*, which was proposed by the liberal boyars (Hitchins 1996: 129–137). In spite of the significant role of Greek culture, Greek political ideas—from Rhigas Velestinlis to the Etairia—were ignored or accepted with great reserve (Georgescu 1972: 74).

Enlightenment ideas were disseminated to a large extent through the education system. On the other hand, the development of the education system was stimulated by the Enlightenment. The founding documents of the schools set down the link between education and Enlightenment thinking, asserting that the aim of education is “to illumine the children of the city and the surrounding areas” and that “youth study only what is rational and beautiful” (Pârnuță 1971: 123; Camariano-Cioran 1974: 61). Lack of funds and political instability meant that the rulers’ decisions regarding education were not applied for long periods. Many

schools founded by princely decree functioned intermittently, while others did not even commence their courses.

There were schools in the towns, connected to monasteries, and even in some villages. Their status varied: some had been founded by the ruling prince, who took care of their upkeep; others had been founded by magnanimous boyars or prelates; and yet others seem to have been less formal, functioning thanks to understandings between the pupils' parents and the teacher, more often than not a church cantor or priest. The high boyars did not usually send their children to school.¹³ Greek, French and sometimes German preceptors taught the boyars' children and often also acted as secretaries. Besides the boyar's sons, lessons would also be attended by the children of the local petty boyars and even the children of the leading villagers (Djuvara 1995: 119–120).

The most prestigious schools were the Princely Academies in Bucharest and Jassy. (These had been founded around the year 1700 and had been restructured by the Phanariotes on repeated occasions.) Their pupils could study classical subjects such as rhetoric, poetics, philosophy or astronomy, as well as modern ones, such as experimental physics, French, German and, after 1820, comparative literature. The professors, almost all of them Greeks, taught either one subject or multiple related subjects. Despite some novel elements, the content of the courses retained its un-modern character.¹⁴ The pupils were the sons of petty nobles or rich burghers. Some of them were local, but many came from all over the Ottoman Empire. The Academies held contests for student maintenance grants (Camariano-Cioran 1974: 46, 64, 97, 102; Djuvara 1995: 212–214).¹⁵ The Romanian language became part of higher education courses in the early

13 But we also find the sons of the ruling princes studying as pupils at the Princely Academies in Bucharest and Jassy: the two sons of Alexandros Soutzos in 1820 and the son of Alexandros Kallimachis in 1814 (Camariano-Cioran: 76, 105).

14 Horia-Roman Patapievici has observed that although theories in physics changed periodically, this was not a result of scientific discussion but clearly due to imitation. Moreover, the models that were adopted were not the most recent, and the time lag between the Principalities and the West was sometimes almost a century (Patapievici 2004: 77–89).

15 As an example, there were twenty scholarships in Bucharest in 1816 and forty in Jassy in 1803.

nineteenth century. In Jassy it was limited to one subject only: topographical engineering, taught by Gheorghe Asachi after 1814. In Bucharest, at the school of Deacon Gheorghe Lazăr (after 1818), all subjects were taught in Romanian apart from philosophy. The *Divan*¹⁶ had ruled that it was impossible to teach philosophy in Romanian (Camariano-Cioran 1974: 78–79).

The syllabus of the smaller schools was in Romanian. The purpose of these schools was to train priests and cantors. The pupils learned reading, writing and church chant. Sometimes arithmetic and basic notions of the catechism were also taught. For all these subjects, one teacher was sufficient, but sometimes a chant teacher was also employed by the school. Education was not reserved only for men: at the Agapia Convent in Moldavia, not only the nuns were taught reading and handicrafts, but also the daughters of the petty boyars and merchants (Hitchins 1996: 39; Părnuță 1985: 79–82; Păcurariu 1994, 3: 12).

There were also schools where the educational process was more complex. The most significant was the Socola Seminary near Jassy, founded in 1803, which in 1820 held courses in rhetoric, poetics and Latin (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 248). The Slavonic language school in Bucharest continued to function, but its former glory had faded (Potra 1990: 21–29, 36–37). Also worthy of note is the school founded by Petros Efesios in 1817, where cantors learned the New Method of church music.

THE HISTORY OF THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES FROM THE REVOLT OF FILIKI ETAIRIA TO THE EMERGENCE OF ROMANIA (1821–1861)

Changes in political status and society

In the four decades that followed the revolts of Alexandros Ypsilantis and Tudor Vladimirescu (1821), the Danubian principalities continued to be affected by

16 The Council of the Prince, or the *Divan*, was the central organ of government. Its members were high-ranking nobles, chosen and replaced by the ruler.

changes in the balance of power between the three empires. The Russian, Ottoman, and Austrian armies marched more frequently through the Romanian lands, which were occupied by troops for one third of the interval between 1821 and 1861.

Periods of occupation and withdrawal were followed by changes in the political status of the principalities. The Sultan lost faith in Phanariotes after the Filiki Etairia insurrection and resumed appointment of princes from among the native boyars. Phanariote influence also waned at the *Divan*, where the percentage of Greek members fell by half, to around ten per cent (Djuvara 1995: 124). A few years later, the Adrianople peace treatise gave Russia the status of *protector power* (1829). In other words, the Sultan remained suzerain, but the principalities moved from his sphere of influence to that of the Tsar. Russian Count Pavel Kiseleff, who was the *de facto* ruler of both Principalities between 1829 and 1834, endowed them with their first two constitutions, named the *Organic Statutes*. In 1831, the basis of a modern administration was established, which was very similar in the two Principalities. This was to favour the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia three decades later.

The treatise that ended the Crimean War in 1856 entrusted the Principalities to the common protection of the Great Powers, while acknowledging Turkish suzerainty.¹⁷ The following years were marked by international and domestic debates on the guarantees of autonomy, unification of the two countries, voting rights, and the election as ruler of a foreign prince from a reigning European dynasty.¹⁸ Taking advantage of a favourable international conjunction of events, the parliaments of Moldavia and Wallachia elected the same prince, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in 1859. The Great Powers acknowledged the union of the Principalities—the Ottoman Empire was the last to recognise it, in

17 At this time, the great European powers were France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Sardinia.

18 In each country debates also took place at the level of a so-called ad hoc assembly. This was dominated by high-ranking nobles but also included other social groups: petty boyars, townsmen and even peasants (Hitchins 1996: 289–290).

December 1861—but only for the duration of Cuza's reign. Time showed that this restriction was purely formal, as the union became permanent after Cuza's abdication in 1866. Administrative and legislative unification was complete by 1862 and the rulers of the nascent state decided that thenceforth it would be called by the new name of Romania.

To a large extent society preserved the characteristics it had possessed at the end of the Phanariote period. Rapid growth in the population—rising to four million during the reign of Cuza (Hitchins 1996: 173)—the development of trading partnerships as a result of the liberalisation of external trade by the Adrianople treatise (which abolished the obligation to supply the Porte with agricultural produce), and the stipulations of the Organic Statutes ushered in the changes that would bring a slow transition toward modernity.

The liberalisation of foreign trade made it very profitable to cultivate cereal crops, in particular wheat, which became an economic mainstay towards the mid-nineteenth century. The nobility quickly proved to be interested in the grain trade and began to transform into a class of landowners. Noble lineage and office began to have no importance in the social hierarchy (Georgescu 1995: 137, 141, 145).¹⁹ A newfound interest in the land on the part of the nobility and middle-class led to a massive reduction in the number of peasants who owned their own fields and to an increase in the work obligations of landless peasants (Hitchins 1996: 180; Durandin 1995: 163–164).²⁰

There were also important changes in the city. The number of towns and the urban population increased. In 1859, town dwellers accounted for fifteen per cent of the population of the United Principalities as a whole, and twenty-three per cent in Moldavia alone (Hitchins 1994: 157; idem 1996: 175). Craftsmen and tradesmen became the majority, at least in major cities, the former accounting for

19 The titles of nobility were abolished in 1858 without any particular protest (Georgescu 1995: 145).

20 Landless peasants accounted for more than 70% of the population of each principality (Hitchins 1996: 177). As about 85% of the population lived in the villages (including categories other than peasants), this means that the number of landowning peasants decreased to 10–15%, i.e. less than half the percentage at the beginning of the century.

a greater percentage than the latter. There were changes in the ethnic structure of Moldavian towns following massive Jewish immigration from Galicia and Russia. Most of the tradesmen in Moldavia were Jews by the mid-nineteenth century.

The Gypsies were emancipated in stages: firstly, those belonging to a number of liberal nobles, in the early 1830s, then those belonging to the Prince and the monasteries (1843–1847), and finally the boyars' slaves, who were liberated in 1856. After emancipation, the Gypsies continued to be craftsmen and servants—on their former owner's estate or in towns or other estates—or, more rarely, became agricultural workers (Achim 1998: 86, 94–102).

A move away from Greek and toward modern European culture can be detected following the re-establishment of native rulers, primarily occurring during the period of the Russian protectorate. French became the new language of culture; its use was widespread, from the higher education to everyday conversation between young nobles. The Greek language waned in importance, although it continued to be taught in public and private schools (Karathanassis 2004: 257; Scalcău 2005: 152–153).

At the same time, the Romanian language gained a higher status. A number of cultural societies promoting the Romanian language, literature and music managed to publish Romanian newspapers and create a reading public for them, mainly among the small middle class, as well as printing the first works of modern Romanian literature and staging plays written or translated into Romanian (Hitchins 1996: 188, 195).

Important changes took place in education too. It was then that the foundations of public elementary education were laid, although the efficiency of the system was quite limited.²¹ The Princely Academies were suppressed after Ypsilanti's uprising, as the Porte saw them as hotbeds of Greek nationalism (Camariano-Cioran 1974: 83). They were replaced by institutions in which the

21 About 2,000 schools with 50,000 pupils a year functioned in Wallachia in the 1840s, while the number of Moldavians pupils was considerably lower. Rural schools were open during the winter only. About a quarter of children went to school but most of them abandoned it after the second grade (M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 33–39).

language of instruction was Romanian, in Bucharest (1825), Craiova (1826), and Jassy (1828) (Cioranescu 1981: 75, footnote 261).²² Schoolteachers' training colleges (Bucharest—1831, Jassy—1832) and regular technical and medical schools (Bucharest, in the 1850s) were established (Hitchins 1996: 276). The Socola Theological Seminary, which had been closed in 1821, was reopened thirteen years later. Subsequently, seminaries were established in Bucharest and in the bishoprics of Wallachia and Moldavia (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 248–252). Foreign-language schools played an important role (mainly those that taught in French, which could be found all over the country, even in some small towns). It was here that the younger generation of nobles was educated, the generation that was to create the modern Romania and achieve the major reforms of the second half of the century (Cioranescu 1981: 76; Potra 1990: 45–47).

The generation of '48 and its political and cultural role

The emergence of Romania was due, on the one hand, to a change in the balance of power between the European states, and on the other one to the ongoing actions of the liberal nobles known as forty-eighters (*pașoptiști*) since the year of the revolution in which they played the leading role. The forty-eighters had been active as early as the previous decade. They were viewed with curiosity by the rest of society and with suspicion by the authorities. In 1848 they seized power in Wallachia for a short time, whereas in Moldavia the revolutionary uprising was crushed after only a few days. After their defeat, many of them continued their revolutionary activities in exile. The Moldavian revolutionaries soon returned, with some of them even being integrated into the administration, but the Wallachian revolutionaries were not allowed to return until 1856. Thereafter, the forty-eighters implemented their political plans over the course of a number of decades, laying the foundations of the modern Romanian state.

22 The reports of Stanislas Bellanger written during his trip in 1846 reveal that the length of study was eleven years (including four years of elementary schooling), plus one supplementary year, at the St. Sabas College in Bucharest, and seven years (including three years of elementary schooling) at the Central School in Craiova (Cioranescu 1981: 160–164, 188–189).

The forty-eighters originated mainly from the petty and middling nobility. They had studied in the West, mostly in Paris, where they had been able to see the differences between the occidental and Romanian society. They admired Europe and set out to establish its institutions in the two Principalities, in the belief that by adopting the Western model they could close the gap in civilisation between Romanians and Occidentals. They embraced contemporary ideas about nationhood, sharing Herder's view. In economics, they advocated liberal solutions. From the political point of view, they felt close to France, which they saw as an older sister who could support the Romanians.

The liberal nobility had already formulated many of the main goals of the forty-eighters by the turn of the nineteenth century. The rulers viewed them as a danger to state stability and it was not unusual for their supporters to be thrown in gaol or exiled to a monastery for a time. The replacement of the Organic Statutes by a modern constitution, the proclamation of independence, the union of the Principalities, the introduction of universal suffrage, and the emancipation of the peasants were advocated by the parliamentary opposition in Wallachia, led by Ion Cîmpineanu, in 1838. Two years later, the secret group led by Dimitrie Filipescu planned to set up a democratic republic in which titles and privilege would be abolished and peasants would seize land from the nobility. In Moldavia, equality before the law and freedom of speech, assembly and the press were proposed as early as 1822 by the *cărvunari*, the nickname of the then Moldavian liberals, whom the conservatives mockingly compared with the Italian *carbonari*. The forty-eighters adopted the liberal ideas of their predecessors, proud to regard themselves as successors of the *cărvunari* and Tudor Vladimirescu.

The forty-eighters operated within a framework of secret organisations or clandestinely, as members of cultural societies, before launching the revolution. Sharing the enlightened aims of the previous generation, they joined together in organisations such as the Philharmonic Society of Bucharest, established in 1833 by Ion Cîmpineanu and Ion Heliade Rădulescu. As time went on, the forty-eighters distanced themselves from the conservatives and created their own organisations wherein and whereby to articulate their ideas. The most influential

were the journals published in Moldavia by Mihail Kogălniceanu, the earliest being *Dacia literară* (“The Literary Dacia”).²³

The writings of forty-eighters reveal that their authors were influenced by romanticism. This influence was as yet limited to the level of practical problems in the society of the Principalities, as Romanians showed no particular interest in metaphysics (Hitchins 1996: 187–194). Their main concerns centred on the idea of nationhood: the approach to history as a creative act of the whole nation, not only the rulers; the discovery of the spirit of the Romanian language, in order to improve its syntax and enrich its vocabulary; the creation of a national literature, which would be both original and practical for immediate social and political purposes.

The cultural activity of the forty-eighters cannot be separated from their political ambitions. Some of them, members of the movements founded by Cîmpineanu or Filipescu, had become convinced that their actions needed to be better organised in order to be not obstructed by the country’s rulers. The means of organisation was freemasonry, into which most of the Wallachian and Moldavian forty-eighters had been initiated while studying in Paris (Djuvara 1995: 317). Paris also was the place where the forty-eighters prepared and carried out a large amount of their pre-revolutionary activities; in the Principalities, close surveillance on the part of the authorities considerably limited the scope for political or related activity (Hitchins 1996: 233–234).

The forty-eighters managed to seize and hold on to power in Wallachia for only three months, a period too short in order to implement the reforms that they had proclaimed: the replacement of the Statutes with a constitution that would have guaranteed the equality of all the citizens,²⁴ the substantial enlargement of suffrage, the abolition of the mandatory work for the benefit of the nobles, and

23 The journal was founded in 1840, but it was banned by the censors after three issues (Hitchins 1996: 193–194).

24 Repealing the Organic Statutes would have allowed autonomy from Russia, which the forty-eighters saw as the most dangerous enemy. The Ottoman Empire was seen more favourably, and the revolutionists declared that they would abide by all the treaties signed with the suzerain (Jelavich 1990: 274; Hitchins 1996: 241).

progressive taxation. The reforms that they adopted—the abolition of censorship and the guarantee of freedom of speech, the abolition of noble titles, the emancipation of Gypsy slaves, the emancipation of the Jews, and the formation of a national guard—were reversed after the defeat of the revolution (Georgescu 1995: 160–162). Nevertheless, the fact that they had been put into practice even for a few days made the general population sensitive to such reforms, and so a number of reforms were adopted even before unification and the coming to power of the forty-eighters won back power. Other reforms were applied during the reign of Cuza and his successor, Carol I, but the last of them were not to be enacted until after the First World War.

THE HISTORY OF ROMANIA UP TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1862–1914)

Changes in the political status and society

After Cuza's abdication, a foreign prince came to throne: Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (b. 1839, Prince and later King of Romania: 1866–1914), fulfilling a long-standing desire of the forty-eighter generation. Carol I was soon acknowledged as hereditary prince by the Sultan and the other great powers.

The escalating conflict between the Russian and Ottoman Empires was a favourable opportunity for Romania to proclaim its independence, in 1877, and fight alongside Russians against its former suzerain. The Congress of Berlin recognised the independence of Romania the following year. The country's new status was confirmed symbolically with the coronation of Carol as a King in 1881. Romania thus became equal, according to protocol, to the other European monarchies (Djuvara 2005: 211).

The second Balkan war (1913) showed that Romania had become capable of winning new territories for itself: southern Dobroudja, wrested from Bulgaria. Romanians viewed their country with hope and confidence and were convinced that it was playing a major role as arbiter in the Balkans (ibidem: 220; Hitchins

1994: 149–154).

Romanian society took a decisive step in the direction of modernity during the reigns of Cuza and Carol. Industry developed greatly, but unevenly.²⁵ More than 3,500 km of railroad were built and by the beginning of the 20th century there were more than 25,000 km of paved or maintained road (ibidem: 199–200; Georgescu 1995: 142). Towns grew larger and the standard of living increased, becoming satisfactory even for poor people.²⁶ In the villages, the situation was rather different. Peasant life was harder than it had been in the first half of the nineteenth century, even though the effects of modernity could be felt to a certain extent (e.g. the number of *bordeie* (half-buried huts) had decreased to 2% of dwellings by 1913, ibidem: 192). Around 1900, Romanian society seemed divided in a deeper way than formerly. On the one hand, a modern nation was emerging, whose members lived in towns and were more or less prosperous, civically active and educated. On the other hand, there was the bulk of peasantry, who lived in a traditional environment and whom the elite partly did not manage and partly did not attempt to make part of its project.

The former high nobility, which by the mid-nineteenth century had become a class of big landowners, remained at the top of the social ladder. Landowners still had the greatest wealth during the reign of King Carol, in an economy in which agriculture generated more than two thirds of GNP and produced three quarters of exports.²⁷ As industry increased its share of the

25 The oil industry (in which Romania occupied the third position in the world), agriculture and forestry accounted for three quarters of economic production before the First World War, while machine industry was practically absent (Hitchins 1994: 193).

26 The opinions of Vlad Georgescu and Keith Hitchins differ on the subject of life for the workers around 1900. Georgescu claims that food prices were low and quite stable, but Hitchins says that the prices of the staple products (bread etc.) were increasing while wages remained constant. Georgescu shows that the hourly wage was equivalent to 1.5–3.5 kg of bread, while one needed to work 1–3 hours to buy a kilogram of sugar or pork (Georgescu 1995: 193; Hitchins 1994: 163–164).

27 Other statistical data reveal the development of the agriculture and its importance in the economy: the area of land cultivated, which had already expanded fourfold between 1831 and 1865, increased three and a half times during the reign of Carol; arable ground increased to

economy, the landowning class opened up to the haute bourgeoisie, which is to say, industrialists and bankers partly originating from the small nobility. The upper class gradually became more homogeneous, and this became increasingly visible in the early twentieth century. The socio-economic elite also controlled political power, in an electoral system based on qualification, in which eighty per cent of the deputies were elected by a financial oligarchy (1% of the adult males, at the beginning of Carol's reign and 3% after 1884).²⁸

Cities and towns continued to develop and modernise. There was a more than twofold increase in the urban population, but as a percentage of the overall population it remained almost unchanged until the First World War (15% in 1859, 18,4% in 1912, Georgescu 1995: 137; Hitchins 1994: 157). The country's capital underwent the greatest expansion. In the early twentieth century, Bucharest was a city of just over 300,000 inhabitants,²⁹ with broad boulevards and buildings designed in the Renaissance, eclectic or Second Empire styles, private cars and public transport by tram and by bus, electric street lighting and telephone services (Georgescu 1995: 191–192).

The urban social fabric had experienced changes since the 1880s, mainly due to the process of industrialisation. The number of artisans declined and was outstripped by factory workers, who became the most numerous inhabitants of the towns in the early twentieth century. Another broad social category—public

46% of the country's total area in 1916; Romania had become the fourth largest wheat exporter in the world (the second largest in Europe) and the third largest corn exporter of the world by the second decade of the twentieth century; 92% of the production for the year 1890 was exported (Georgescu 1995: 137–138, 141; Hitchins 1994: 171). Of course, the figures fluctuated according to the meteorological conditions. Durandin mentions that in 1899, after four years of bad harvests, drought had completely destroyed the crops in the Danube Plain (Durandin 1995: 184–185).

28 An even smaller corpus elected the Senate: 1.5% after 1884. The total percentage of the Chamber electors who voted directly grew from 4 to 6 percent (from 40 to 100 thousand) over the course of the period. To them should be added the indirect voters: 60% of the adult males (between 600 thousand and one million). (Durandin 1995: 174–175; Georgescu 1995: 151–152; Hitchins 1994: 93).

29 381,000 in 1916, i.e. around 30% of the entire urban population (Hitchins 1994: 157).

functionaries—expanded along with the government bureaucracy. The urban middle-class (petty traders, bank clerks, merchants, lawyers and teachers), although less numerous, also flourished. Unlike in the first half of the nineteenth century, its members were mainly Romanian. Jews were also an important segment of urban society. Most were small artisans or merchants: on average, one urban dweller in five—in Moldavia one in three—was Jew in 1900³⁰ (Hitchins 1994: 160–164; Iacob 2003: 62).

Village life was marked by the failure of the agrarian policy. Cuza's reform defined land ownership and agricultural relationships in a capitalistic way, abolishing all mediaeval obligations (statutory labour, tithes, etc.). Peasants were placed in possession of their own land twice, in 1864 and 1889. This land proved to be insufficient, given that property was divided between all the heirs. In the early twentieth century, only about one tenth of the villagers who made up the rural middle-class (well-to-do peasants, priests, school teachers and small merchants) led a comfortable life (Hitchins 1994: 159–160).

The life of the Gypsies was also marked by modernisation. Gypsies who were sedentary and worked the land before the agrarian law was passed became the owners of that land after 1864. They integrated quite rapidly into the Romanian peasantry. Some of the nomads were forced to become sedentary. The authorities divided them into groups that were as small as possible and distributed them among virtually every village. Others emigrated throughout Europe, taking advantage of the fact that the government was now less interested in detaining them than it had been during the years of slavery³¹ (Achim 1998: 102–107).

Culture

30 The percentage of Jews was one of the highest in Europe by the end of the century: 4.5%, compared to 4.7% in Austria, 4% in Russia, 2.4% in Holland, and 1% in Germany and Bulgaria (Iacob 2003: 62).

31 It should be noted that one third of all Europe's Gypsies lived in the Principalities in the mid-nineteenth century. It was here that the second great Gypsy migration—comparable to the mediaeval one, when the Gypsies first arrived in Europe— set out towards the end of the nineteenth century (Achim 1998: 107–111).

The European culture of the forty-eighters gradually won over the rest of the elite. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the members of the upper class—both liberals and conservatives—viewed the world from a nationalist perspective, wore European clothes, read French newspapers and novels, socialised with each other in clubs, practised fencing, tennis and gymnastics, and sent their children to university (Georgescu 1995: 192–193). The Church continued to be respected, although, for many people it was revered not for offering salvation, but because of its organic link to the Romanian nation.³² The new culture also spread to the other classes to various degrees and at different speeds. Education and the media were the main tools in this process of dissemination.

Elementary education had been mandatory since the reign of Cuza, more than one hundred years after Konstantinos Mavrokordatos' unsuccessful attempt to teach every child in Wallachia the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic, and after other similar trials during the periods of Phanariote rule and the Organic Statutes. The application of Cuza's law was rather limited in the beginning due to a lack of resources. After 1893, when the government reorganised the educational system and decided to increase the funds it allotted, the number of pupils increased considerably: almost fourfold in twenty years, reaching more than half a million by 1913. The number of literate adults almost doubled in the same period: one person in three was literate in villages, while in towns the percentage was twice this. Secondary and higher education also expanded. The number of students increased from eighty in 1860, the year when Jassy University was founded, to 5,350 in 1900.³³ 2,924 of these studied Law, 841 Medicine, and 784 Literature and Philosophy (Georgescu 1995: 128, 194; Hitchins 1994: 170–171).

The adoption of the European model was accepted by the elite as a whole. There were still differences with regard to the pace and manner of Europeanisation, however. Liberals thought that the process should be carried out as fast as possible, in order to catch up with the West more quickly. Conservatives

32 Nichifor Crainic deplored the fact that before the First World War the Church had been viewed from a nationalist perspective, merely “as a monument of the past” (Durandin 1995: 301).

33 A second university was established in Bucharest in 1864.

argued that the indiscriminate adoption of Western institutions was harmful, given the differences between Romanian and European society, and so they supported gradual Westernisation.

The most serious criticism of the liberal and romantic generation of forty-eighters came from *Junimea* (Youth), a society founded in 1863 by a young men who had returned to Jassy after studying abroad. Junimea soon became an important think-tank and published the best cultural journal, *Convorbiri literare* (starting in 1867), for about two decades. The group's leaders continued to occupy the political front ranks of the Conservatives until the First World War.

The members of Junimea had been educated in the German-speaking world. In philosophy they were followers of Schopenhauer. Their sociological approach was influenced by evolutionism, supporting the view that a society should develop gradually and organically, rather than through revolution. Romania was conceptualised in terms of the “theory of forms without substance” propounded by Titu Maiorescu, the leader of the group. Maiorescu argued that the forty-eighters had grasped only the external forms of the Western civilisation, without paying attention to the historical fundaments that necessarily generated those forms and without which those forms would never arise. Such forms had been imported into a society clearly different than the one that had produced them. Thus, Romania had a liberal party without any bourgeoisie; an Academy without any original scientific activity; a Conservatoire without any musicians; and an *École des Beaux Arts* without any painters. Moreover, the entire system of the constitution was inappropriate, as there was no Romanian bourgeoisie. The Junimists rejected imitation and promoted original values that were supposed to accord with a nebulous Romanian “vital core”. However, unlike the conservatives of the first half of the century and also the forty-eighters, the Junimists viewed the past with indifference, relating only to the present (Ornea 1966: 72–86; Hitchins 1994: 56–63; Boia 1997: 42–43; Georgescu 1995: 200–201).

Junimism had a profound impact on the cultural debate up until the Second World War. Two important movements branched from it around the year 1900: *poporanism* (from Rom. *popor* = people) and *sămănătorism* (from Rom.

sămănător = sower). Both adopted the theory of forms without substance, advocated the organic development of Romanian society, and regarded the economy as primarily agrarian. Unlike *Junimism*, they placed the peasant at the centre of their discourse. *Poporanism*, headed by Constantin Stere, was concerned with the economic and politic actions that might lead to the development of rural society and saw Romania as a part of Europe. *Sămănătorism*, whose leading proponent was Nicolae Iorga, posited an opposition between urban European urban culture and the traditional culture of the Romanian village. For the Sămănătorists, the solution was not pragmatic in nature, but rather resided in the dissemination of “authentic national values” among the general population, values that had been preserve for centuries in the milieu of the village (Hitchins 1994: 67–74; Ornea 1971: 127–131, 188–195).

A completely different view was put forward by Marxist theorist Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea. He considered that adoption of the Western model was quite a natural phenomenon, typical of undeveloped societies. It was customary for advanced countries to impose bourgeois institutions on such a society, institutions that would eventually develop into a capitalist economy. It was necessary for Romania to modify its socio-economic structures while taking account of the Western experience. This would help the country to achieve capitalism more quickly, thus making the path to socialism shorter (Hitchins 1994: 76–78).

European influence on Romania became visible in the field of the sciences (mathematics, medicine, geology, history), arts and philosophy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Literature and history were influenced by *Junimea*: the most important writers of the period—Mihai Eminescu, Ion Luca Caragiale, Ion Creangă, and Ioan Slavici—were all members of the society. Apart from Mihai Eminescu, who was a late Romantic, the other three painted a realistic image of the society, whether rural or urban. On the other hand, in the mawkish literature of *sămănătorism*, which predominated between 1895 and 1910, village life, with good hardworking peasants and mild nobles, was idealised. Towards the end of the century, avant-garde movements—starting with symbolism—sprang up in

literature and the fine arts.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES

The state of the Orthodox Church in Wallachia and Moldavia up to 1821

The early history of the Church on the territories of what would later become Wallachia and Moldavia is nebulous because of the paucity of sources. These point to some pockets of Christianity after the second and third centuries, but do not give information on their evolution in time, their beliefs and liturgical customs, or when exactly Christianity became the dominant religion.³⁴ Up until the fourteenth century, Christians from these areas were dependent—with a few exceptions³⁵—on South-Danube bishops (from the Byzantine or Bulgarian empires), with whom they had stronger or weaker relations, depending on the political context (Brătianu 2000: 175–177). Constantinople acknowledged the new states of Wallachia and Moldavia and their metropolitan seats in the second

34 It seems that the spread of Christianity and the organisation of the Church waxed and waned depending on political rule. Christianity developed under Roman and Byzantine rule (western Wallachia, in the second and third centuries; southern Wallachia, in the first half of the fourth century and the first half of the sixth), partially under Goths (eastern Wallachia and southern Moldavia, in the first half of the fourth century), and rapidly after the christening of the Bulgarians (ninth century) and Russians (tenth century), but was retarded by the Hun invasion (fourth–fifth centuries) and the Avar and Slav occupation (after the sixth century); Timotin 1998–1999, especially 43–57, 129–133, 150–164).

35 This is the case of the bishops of the Goths (fourth century, *ibidem*: 131–133) and, in northern Moldavia, the Russian bishops of Halych (towards the fourteenth century, Spinei 1986: 167). The western part of Wallachia was probably dependent on Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries (Zugravu 1995–1996: 174–180). In the thirteenth century bishops of the Greek rite are mentioned, but they were probably not canonically ordained and not acknowledged by Constantinople (Papacostea 1999a: 232–233 footnote, 238). In Moldavia, a Catholic bishopric functioned for the Cumans for a short time (1227–1241, Dumea 2006: 35–43).

half of the fourteenth century. This recognition came after the princes of the two countries had oscillated for a few decades between Rome—on which their suzerains were dependent—and Constantinople. From the late fourteenth century onwards, Orthodox Christianity remained the official religion in the Danubian Principalities, which embarked upon a new phase of integration into the Byzantine-Slavic world (Papacostea 1999b: 46–47, 51–52, 62, 66–69).

The changes that occurred between the establishment of the metropolises and the beginning Russian protectorate are of lesser importance to the present subchapter, which deals with the relationship between Church and state and the role of the Church in society. I shall refer below to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in particular, but the situation at that time may also be said broadly to apply to the preceding centuries.

Apart from the community of faith and the payment of a yearly contribution, the dependence of the two metropolitans on Constantinople was formal. The metropolitans were not members of the Constantinopolitan Synod, and they organised and administrated their Church as they saw fit (Păcurariu 1993: 112–113; idem 1994, 2: 341, 623).

The relationship between Church and State was very similar to what it was in the Byzantine Empire, with the two institutions blending together to some degree.³⁶ The metropolitan headed the *Divan* and replaced the prince in various exceptional circumstances. During crises, he acted as a mediator: he might ask the sultan for exemptions from payment of tribute during years of drought, oppose new taxes introduced by the prince, negotiate with troops occupying the country, and so on. The metropolitan and the bishops were members of the *Divan*,³⁷ and in

36 For a comprehensive picture of the social role of the Church and relations between the hierarchs and the Emperor in Byzantium, see von Falkenhausen 2000: 201, 210–215.

37 In the early nineteenth century, there were three bishops in Wallachia, whose residences were in Râmnicu Vâlcea, Buzău and Curtea de Argeș, and two in Moldavia, in Roman and Huși. The metropolitan sees were located in Bucharest and Jassy after the late seventeenth century. Hierarchs were usually drawn from noble families or the Greek clergy, although, there were bishops with humbler origins: priests' or money-changers' sons who had studied in the highest schools or had entered the monastery when young (Păcurariu 1994, 2: passim).

their turn the other members of the *Divan* and the prince were members of the General Assembly (the Church's highest administrative body, not to be confused with the homonymous later Parliament) and took part in the process of electing the hierarchs (Hitchins 1996: 38–39, 41–42, Păcurariu 1993: 113–114; idem 1994, 2: 406–407).

The Church dealt with various social matters: it organised and funded education; provided free medical assistance in hospitals and administrated pharmacies; and gave succour to the poor. It also recorded births and deaths, officiated weddings and, under specific circumstances, accorded divorces. It passed judgement on various legal issues, certified wills and dowry agreements, and archived contracts of land sales (Hitchins 1996: 36, 38, 42; Păcurariu 1994, 2: 553–554, 571; Ghițulescu 2004: 22–38; Georgescu 1995: 127).

There were significant differences between high and low clergymen. Prelates and the abbots of prominent monasteries were involved in government, and they were well educated and rich. On the other hand, the standard of living for village priests was not much higher than that of their flocks. Priests were the leaders of their villages not only in the spiritual life, but also in some aspects of the secular life: they sat in judgement on minor cases, informed the peasantry of the ruler's decrees, maintained order in the event of war or plague, and, if they were literate, wrote up deeds and sometimes taught the village children.³⁸ The number of clergymen was high: on average, there were two or three priests and a deacon in each Wallachian village of six hundred people, while in Moldavia the numbers were slightly lower (Hitchins 1996: 39–40; Păcurariu 1994, 2: 570–571).³⁹

In both of the Principalities, monasteries played a very important economic, social and cultural role. On the whole, they owned the greater part of

38 There were a number of attempts to foster literacy among the priesthood. For example, Ioannis Karatzas ruled that no priest could be ordained unless he had studied in the Romanian school of Gheorghe Lazăr (Camariano-Cioran 1974: 80).

39 For estimates as to the number of clergymen in the early nineteenth century, see Păcurariu 1994, 2: 570; Hitchins 1996: 69; Ghițulescu 2004: 33.

the agricultural land, and their incomes were approximately one third of the state's. They administered some hospitals and schools. It was the monks who engaged in literary activities such as copying manuscripts, printing, and translating Greek and Russian theological books into Romanian. On rare occasions, some monks translated French novels and Enlightenment literature (Hitchins 1996: 36, 40; Păcurariu 1994, 2: 586–589).

One peculiar situation was that of “dedicated monasteries”. They sent a part of their incomes to a monastery in the Ottoman Empire or directly to one of the Oriental patriarchates. Dedicated monasteries enjoyed remarkable wealth, and between them they owned more than one tenth of the country's agricultural land (Hitchins 1996: 36, 40; Păcurariu 1994, 2: 586–589; Jelavich 1990: 292).

Changes in the relationship between Church and State (1831–1914)

The changes in the organisation of the Orthodox Church and its relationship with the State reflect the political, administrative and ideological changes that occurred in Romanian society in the nineteenth century. The Church's role in worldly affairs gradually decreased, while the State's control increased. The most vigorous measures were taken during the reign of Cuza, after the forty-eighters came to power.⁴⁰ Nationalism and modernism influenced the organisation of the Church, which ceased to be dependent upon Constantinople and structured itself in accordance with the laws of the secular state.

First demanded by the Moldavian *ad hoc* assembly in 1858, the self-determination of the Romanian Church was declared in a decree signed by Cuza in 1864 and acknowledged by Constantinople in 1885. The Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church thus became independent from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but not from the Romanian state: it was mandatory that the laws adopted by the Synod should not contradict lay laws and should be acknowledged by the King (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 118–119, 129–31; Popescu-Spineni 1936: 69–70; Hitchins 1996: 91–92).

40 Some of these measures were proposed as early as 1856, i.e. before Cuza came to power (Georgescu 1995: 198).

State functionaries ceased to be churchmen and tried to dominate the later as time went on. Metropolitans and bishops continued to be members *de iure* of the highest secular bodies (the General Assembly and later the Senate), but their political influence was considerably diminished. Furthermore, the ratio of clergymen in the elective college for prelates had been reduced by the Organic Statutes, and became null or insignificant starting with the reign of Cuza (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 26–27, 121, 126–127).

The Church was deprived of most of its social roles. Elementary education no longer depended on the Church and religious instruction was supervised and, after 1860, administrated by the state. Hospitals ceased to exist only as appendages of the monasteries. Metropolitans and bishops were deprived of their juridical responsibilities in 1831, and priests were limited to the right to be members of courts of arbitration. Cuza's laws transferred the granting of divorces to the secular courts and the keeping of civil records (including civil weddings, which were made mandatory) to mayoral offices⁴¹ (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 27–28, 112, 134; Hitchins 1996: 165–166, 313; idem 1994: 91).

The State limited the Church's autonomy and drew up rules regarding its organisation. In keeping with the Organic Statutes,⁴² the secular state had the right to pass or reject any ordination or monastery foundation and interfered in the administration of the Church's properties and incomes (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 26–28; Hitchins 1996: 165–166). The monastic estates—including those of the dedicated monasteries, which the Oriental patriarchates considered to be their properties—were secularised during Cuza's rule, with the almost unanimous support of the legislature. Thus, about a quarter of the country's territory became state property and monasteries ceased to have play any significant role in Romania's economic life (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 113–116; Hitchins 1996: 313).

The control of the State also extended to the status of priests and monks.

41 The Organic Statutes assigned to the clergy the task of keeping the archives of the civil list.

42 Part of the decisions of the Organic Statues concerning the Church was inspired by the legislation introduced by Peter the Great, although the subordination of the Church to the State was less strict than that it was in Russia (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 29; Cotan 2004: 234).

Priests were made similar to civil servants, receiving their wages from the town halls after 1864 and from town halls and the Ministry of Worship after 1893. By means of legislation and wage policies, the authorities reduced the number of monks and clergymen. In 1914, the percentage of parish priests relative to the rest of the population was almost ten times less than a century before. On the other hand, the educational level of the priests had improved, as ordination was conditional upon an increasing number of years of study. Whereas in the first half of the nineteenth century only a few secretarial classes were required, the duration of which was only a few months in Wallachia, in the second half of the century a minimum of eight years of schooling was required. According to the Non-Monastic Clergy and Seminaries Law (1893), in order to receive ordination it was necessary to have completed twelve years of study (eight of which at seminary school). In keeping with the same law, urban parishes had to be accorded to those who had taken theological studies at university⁴³ (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 111, 117–118, 132–134, 250–255; Georgescu 1995: 198; Hitchins 1994: 91).

ROMANIAN ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Elements of ethnic identity prior to 1821

The views of scholars from the Danubian principalities with regard to Romanians as an ethnic group were based on the writings of seventeenth-century chroniclers and Dimitrie Cantemir, who in their turn had adopted and amended the opinions generally shared by European thinkers of the time.⁴⁴ Broadly speaking, Romanians considered themselves to be the descendants of the Roman colonists

43 The Theology School in Bucharest was inaugurated in 1881 and officially acknowledged in 1890. A few Romanians had attended higher theological courses abroad, in Cernăuți, Kiev, Athens, Petersburg, Leipzig or Paris (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 50, 137, 140, 149, 156–157, 163–166, 173, 258–261).

44 Theories about Romanian ethnicity were based on the writings of the mid-fifteenth-century humanists. The most influential was that of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later to become Pope Pius II (Armbruster 1993: 53–234, especially 55–60).

and soldiers who came to Dacia after the conquest by the Emperor Trajan (106 AD). Unlike the writers of previous centuries, who believed that the natives had been exterminated, some Romanians of the early nineteenth century believed that their nation had arisen from the intermingling of Romans and Dacians (Georgescu 1995: 130–131; Boia 1997: 87).

In the ethnic imaginary, the Romanians occupied the territory bounded by the Dniester, Black Sea, Danube, Panonnia and Podolia, which incorporated the area of Roman Dacia.⁴⁵ The settling of this territory was linked to two founding acts known as “dismountings”, the first by Trajan, and the second by Negru Vodă in Wallachia and Dragoș in Moldavia, who returned from Transylvania and Maramureș to the lands previously abandoned by the Romanians because of the Tartar invasions.

A few of the cultural elements that marked the ethnic identity of Romanians were placed in with the Romans: name, language, character, and customs. Roman descent did not imply any connection with the Latin Church. On the contrary, the Orthodox religion was an essential element of Romanian identity.

The ethnic unity of the Wallachians, the Moldavians, and the Romanians within the Habsburg Empire began to be talked of more frequently in the early years of the nineteenth century. The term *Romanian* in the broad sense, as an ethnic name for Romanians everywhere (as opposed to the narrow sense of an inhabitant of the Romanian Country, i.e. Wallachia), also came to be used more frequently.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, projects for political unity were the exception, rather than the mainstream (Boia 1997: 145–146; Georgescu 1972: 171–174).

Changes in ethnic identity after 1821. The construction of national identity

The first important shift in the content of ethnic identity was connected to the emergence of the forty-eighter generation. Influenced by Romanticism, the ideas

45 The eastern part of this territory, which included Moldavia and more than half of Wallachia, was not conquered by Romans, or else it came under Roman rule only for a very short period.

46 Like other ethnic names, *rumân* had previously meant dependent peasant.

of Herder, and the histories written at the beginning of the century by Romanians from Transylvania (Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior), and eager to demonstrate that Romanians had a place among the European nations, the forty-eighters did their best to prove the noble origins and the glorious past of their nation. They pointed to the nation's Roman origins, minimising the Dacian component, and invoked Romanians' kinship with the other Latin nations, especially the French.⁴⁷ The forty-eighters praised the bravery of Romanian voivodes and their soldiers, arguing that the Romanians were Europe's shield against the Ottomans. Romanian territory was subsequently imagined as having extended south of the Danube—where Vlach rulers of the Bulgarian tsardoms were attested around the year 1200—to compensate for the scarcity of sources about the Romanians before the fourteenth century (Boia 1997: 32–33, 36–38, 88–91, 124–125, 180–181, 186–189; M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 124–139, 180–181).⁴⁸

The Dacian element of national identity was reconsidered after the 1870s, but the Roman element continued to be preeminent in the matter of the Romanians' origins. After 1900, Dacians origins were asserted by the autochthonous movement, which was anti-European, unlike the forty-eighters and their followers. It was the autochthonists who placed the traditional values of the village at the heart of the debate about Romanian identity (Boia 1997: 49–51, 95–98, 101–103).

Together with the rise of the forty-eighter generation, changes also took place that affected the balance between Romanian identity and other identities, especially the religious and the local ones (Moldavian, regional identities, etc.). The same as elsewhere in Europe, national identity became predominant in educated milieus, putting Orthodox identity in second place, whereas peasants

47 The assertion of Latin origins was made manifest, among other ways, in the replacement of Slavonic script with the Latin alphabet during the reign of Cuza, after a transitional period of about three decades in which mixed Latin-Cyrillic alphabets had been employed (Djuvara 2005: 199).

48 Some of these ideas were expressed even earlier than this, but it was the forty-eighters who were particularly interested in them, and who succeeded in disseminating them to the rest of society.

continued to define themselves as Christians rather than Romanians even at the end of the century (M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 12–13).

The same as in the rest of nineteenth-century Eastern Europe, national ideas on identity were formulated by intellectuals and gradually rippled outwards, with the obvious aim of making them known to and shared by all members of society.⁴⁹ Problems of ethnic identity like, such as Roman origins, were familiar only to a part of the elite in the early nineteenth century, but a century later they came to be known to a significant percentage of the population, probably similar to the percentage of people with a minimum of formal education (about 40%). The most efficient means of disseminating national ideas was public education.⁵⁰ Research into curricula, textbooks, and speeches about elementary school—the only educational institution attended by the majority of Romanians⁵¹—points to a shift in education from religion to nation at the same time as the emergence of the Romanian nation state. Teachers in the first half of the nineteenth century aimed that school should turn pupils in citizens, who were supposed to be good Christians and good members of society, with a sense of duty to the homeland, authorities, and family. Towards the end of the century, pupils had to become “good Romanians, who love their country and the institutions of the state”. The proportion of the curriculum taken up by subjects that played a role in the formation of national identity (history and national geography) increased after 1860. Pupils were taught the noble origins and unity of the Romanians, their permanence in the territory of Dacia, their bravery, their attachment to the

49 With regard to patriotic education, the Ministry of Education communicated the following, in the form of a letter in 1897: “Do your best to convince [the children] that their country is the best country, their nation is the bravest, noblest, and most vigorous of all nations. Do not be afraid to exaggerate in this way; the further you go, the better” (Spiru Haret, quoted in Ispas 2000: 196).

50 As Eric Hobsbawm put it: “Until the triumph of television, there was no medium of secular propaganda to compare with the classroom” (Hobsbawm 1987: 150).

51 A statistic from 1930 showed that 83% of literate adults had attended only elementary school (Georgescu 1995: 223). It can be presumed that in the pre-War Romania the percentage was even higher.

Orthodox faith and the homeland, and mistrust of foreigners (M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 65–73, 83–85, 89, 223–224; eadem 1995; eadem 1997: 61–63).

The place of foreigners in the Romanian imaginary

The same as in many other societies, foreigners were viewed with suspicion and their peculiarities were exaggerated, caricatured, and sometimes even invented. The Turks and Greeks were the foreigners most prevalent in the writings of the early nineteenth century, and were viewed as the chief culprits for the bad situation of the country. The discourse was even more critical of the Greeks. The Turks were more remote foreigners, both physically—the Sultan lived in Istanbul, very few Turks lived in the Danubian principalities, and the Ottoman armies were present only in special circumstances (wars, uprisings)—and culturally: the Turks were Muslims, did not eat pork, etc. But the Greeks were culturally close to the Romanian (the closer, the more guilty), were directly responsible for government, and were a daily presence whose actions could easily be noted. The Phanariote administration was frequently accused of robbery and corruption because of excessive taxes and abuses.⁵²

Hostility towards the Greeks ceased soon after the return to native rule (Georgescu 1972: 149). Graecophobia made a comeback in historical texts and schoolbooks with the forty-eighters, who were highly interested in historical research and affirmation of the nation. These writings distinguished between “true Greeks from Hellas” and the political and administrative class of the Principalities before 1821, i.e. *the Phanariotes*. “Cunning, thievish, cruel”, “social and political pestilence”, “rapacious”, “venomous leeches”, “drones and wasps”, accompanied by a train of “shabby and hungry locust-like Greeks”,⁵³ the Phanariote leaders

52 The accusations were supported by the fact that a significant amount of money, which was not demanded by the Porte, was leaving the country. For example, out of about six million piastres from Wallachia’s budget for 1820, one million was allocated for the upkeep of fifty Phanariote families, which, according to the Sultan’s decision (1819), were no longer permitted to supply rulers to the Danubian principalities (Hitchins 1996: 21).

53 These epithets are taken from history books for elementary schools issued in 1861–1888 and written by Ion Heliade Rădulescu, V. A. Urechia, N. Scurtescu, and Marin C. Florențiu (quoted

were seen as guilty of cowardliness and corruption having entered Romanian society by imitation. Accusations against the Phanariotes receded around the year 1900, when the domestic and international political context changed and bile was directed towards other nations (mainly the Jews), and after historians such as Iorga had demonstrated the beneficent impact the Phanariotes had had on Romanian culture (M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 214–215; eadem 1997: 66; Boia 1997: 183–184).

The desire to break away from the Orient and move closer to the West encouraged not only violent anti-Phanariote and anti-Ottoman discourses but also the idealisation of Europe. From late eighteenth century onwards, Europeans were regarded not only as the most civilised nations, but also “the most beautiful men”, “clever”, “ungrudging and brave”, and Romanians were seen as part of the great European family (Georgescu 1972: 37–39; M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 208–209).

The image of Russians was very favourable at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Russian Empire was the main supporter of Principalities in relations with the Porte, and was attached to the Orthodoxy and the European civilization. Starting in the 1830s, when the Principalities became Russian protectorates, esteem changed to antipathy as the Tsars ambitions at the mouths of Danube became more and more manifest. The decline in Slavic culture in favour of national and Western culture also contributed to the diminution of Russian popularity (Boia 1997: 185–186; Durandin 1995: 108–115; M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 216–217).

in M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 214–215; eadem 1997: 66). See the list of history school books in eadem 1999: 242–244.

CHAPTER 2: MUSIC IN THE ROMANIAN LANDS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The period investigated here is one of the most interesting in the history of the Romanian music. The radical changes in the music of the nineteenth century reflected, with a short delay, the transformations that were taking place in society. Modernisation and a shift away from the Orient caused some musics to decline, others to disappear, and others still to take the place of previous ones. Western music influenced other musics to a greater or lesser extent and by the end of the century had become the most revered.

In this chapter I shall briefly describe the musics to be found in the Danubian Principalities in the early nineteenth century, specifying the context in which they were sung and played, by whom, and for whom. I shall then trace the evolution of each of them up to the First World War, providing the greater amount of detail about Western music, which was the most influential of them and whose development was by far the most spectacular. I shall close the chapter by presenting Church music, in a manner generally accepted by Romanian musicologists, leaving for the following chapters aspects connected to nationalism. I shall focus on modifications and set aside more space to novelties, passing over linear evolutions. In addition, I shall pay less attention to events toward the end of the period, whose effects were felt more clearly after the war, and I shall look at phenomena rather than persons.

MUSIC IN WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

For a better understanding of the Romanian musical world at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is helpful to look at the way people viewed and classified it at the time. Both natives and foreigners distinguished three broad musical categories at the princely court in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century: the Turkish

mehterhane, Gypsy fiddlers (*lăutari*, sg. *lăutar*), and Church music. To these they added German music, more seldom in the eighteenth century, but more frequently in that which followed. This classification combined, in an imprecise way, a functional with an ethnic criterion (the ethnicity of the performers and the composer).

The order in which these musics were performed at banquets and the persons to whom they were dedicated indicated the importance of each and the social position of its performers. The first was Church music: the chanters of the Princely Church sung hymns of glory to the God and later a *polychronion* for the prince. Between God and the prince, it was the Sultan who was honoured by the Turkish *mehterhane*, a band of about twenty wind and percussion instruments (Zinveliu 1995: 43, 156; Poslușnicu 1928: 550; Cosma 1974: 103). At the bottom of the hierarchy was the ensemble of Gypsy slave fiddlers, which included a few violins, a pan flute and a *cobză* (a kind of lute); the *lăutari* were simultaneously instrumentalists and singers. The ensemble was responsible for providing dance music at after-dinner balls (Cosma 1974: 36–38; Sulzer, in Zinveliu 1995: 125). German music's position in the hierarchy was not very clear. But for the time being, let us position it immediately above Gypsy music. One peculiarity was that the toast to the prince was marked by the simultaneous performance of all of these musics to the accompaniment of cannon fire, thereby superposing three or four distinct melodies and setting aside religious and coarse lyrics (Gheorgaki, quoted in Cosma 1973: 400, footnote; Ghircoiașu 1992: 25–26; Sulzer, in Zinveliu 1995: 144–147). Let us now examine these musics one by one, not only at the court banquets, but also in the Romanian society as a whole.

Church music was similar to that of other Orthodox peoples in the Balkans. In the main monasteries and urban churches, the chant was close to or even identical with Constantinopolitan chant.¹ The difference from Constantinople was greater in common churches and probably increased the further it was from the capital cities. It

¹ Numerous outstanding chanters once active in Constantinople were to be found in the Danubian Principalities at the beginning of the nineteenth century: Agapios Paliermos, Athanasios Foteinos and his sons Dionysios and Antonios, Petros Efesios, in Bucharest, and Petros Byzantios Protopsaltis, Nikiforos Kantouniaris, Grigorios the hierodeacon, Georgios Lesvios, Ioannis Malaxas in Jassy (Gheorghită 2009: 75–93; Παπαδόπουλος 1890: 316, 324–329, 342–345).

is likely that the influence of folk music increased proportional to the dissimilarities from the Greek model.

Romanian was the most widespread language of religious worship. In 1780, all the texts of the chants had been translated and published, some volumes having been printed in more than ten editions (Păcurariu 1994a: 148, 322–325, 333–337, 343, 395, 398, 418–421, 431, 447). On the other hand, Greek was the most highly regarded language, to judge from contemporary accounts, the low proportion of Romanian chants with musical notation, and the fact that the odd verses of the bilingual antiphonic chants (chanted by choir to the right of the altar) were in Greek.² Even in villages, chanters used to sing *cheroubika*, *Axion estin* and a number of other pieces in broken Greek, most likely out of a desire to resemble the maestros in the city (Macarie 1823b: iv, vi; Pann, in Buzera 1999b: 262–263; Chesarie, in Buzera 1999b: 322; Melchisedek 1882: 23–24; Moldoveanu 1991: 125; Barbu-Bucur 1976; Vasile 2001: 113, 120–121).³ Slavonic was sporadically used, most notably in some monasteries in northern Moldavia, which had a large number of Russian and Ruthenian monks. They formed a single choir—alternating with the Moldavian choir on the opposite side of the altar—singing pieces for several voices that circulated in the Kiev area (Burada 1974f: 274–276; Melchisedek 1882: 22; Vasile 1998: 18–19).

The Turkish *mehterhane* was the official band that played every day at the prince's lunch and dinner, at banquets, receptions and processions. It included zurnas, big cornets, tambourines, nakares, and a few pairs of davuls tuned a perfect fifth apart. A brass band of twelve Romanian cornet players also performed, but its presence is proven only for some of the aforementioned events (Cosma 1973: 388; idem 1974: 101–106, 110; Sulzer, in Zinveliu 1995: 156–157; Filimon 1984: 26–27; Ghircoiașu 1992: 146–147).

² Only 38 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Old Method manuscripts from about 200 in Romanian libraries contain chants in Romanian language. And of these, only 16 have at least ten pieces with lyrics in Romanian. For a catalogue of the Romanian Old Method manuscripts, see Barbu-Bucur 1976.

³ Here is an example of the Easter *apolytikion*, from an eighteenth-century manuscript copied by a village priest in Moldavia: “Hs. anistis ec microthanatot thanatos batinisas ketis etizemis imis zoi charistomenos.” (Melchisedek 1882: 24).

Oriental chamber music might equally be reckoned Turkish music. High-ranking boyars used to listen to kemenche, kanon, and tambur music at parties. There were even a few boyars who had taken lesson from virtuosos such as Arif Aga and become performers themselves. This shows the high status of this musical genre, because playing an instrument was otherwise not accepted as an honourable pursuit for noblemen (Burada 1974b: 112–116; idem 1974h: 56; idem 1974i: 63; Cosma 1974: 112).

The music of the *lăutari* was the lowest. Its instrumentalists enjoyed very good economic circumstances because of their high professional level,⁴ in spite of the fact that they were slaves. They sang and played Romanian tunes, Greek tunes and anything else that was in fashion, being able to memorise new pieces extremely quickly.⁵ Around the year 1820, first-class *lăutari* were required to know a few Western dance tunes, after high society had learned the contradance, quadrille, waltz and mazurka at balls organised by Russian officers during the occupation (1806–1812). (von Stürmer, quoted in Cosma 1974: 36; Filimon 1984: 118–119; Ghircoiașu 1992: 32–33).

Unlike Church chant and *mehterhane* music, which were performed in well-defined circumstances, the music of *lăutari* was played in various milieus and on various occasions. Romanians tunes—which made up the core repertoire of every *lăutar*—were played for boyars at Court parties or at their manors, as well as for merchants in town taverns and peasants at weddings or Sunday dances. Nevertheless, the boyars did not dance every kind of peasant dance. Moreover, music was played differently according to the milieu: professional Gypsy ensembles played at the princely court, while peasants might dance to the music of a single bagpipe, flute or even—on less festive occasions—leaf or to vocal music made by a woman imitating

⁴ Daniil Philippidis recorded that in 1816 the best violin players in Constantinople were Gypsies from the Danubian Principalities (Ghenea 2008: 19).

⁵ The observation of Ludwig von Stürmer was confirmed by Mihail Kogălniceanu two decades later (in 1837): “It happened to me to see a Gypsy with his violin entering the French Theatre in Jassy and listening to the overture and to other pieces from *Dame blanche*. When the opera was over he came out and started playing the music he listened to, more artfully than the first virtuoso of the orchestra.” (Kogălniceanu, quoted in Bobulescu 1922: 156).

an instrument (Sulzer, in Zinveliu 1995: 125; Alexandru 1956: 23, 51, 78, 139–140; Burada 1974h: 56 footnote; idem 1974b: 92, 96–97, 106). Most of the time the instrumentalist at rural parties was Romanian, whose main occupation was not music and who knew only peasant tunes. On the other hand, a good urban *lăutar* would also know foreign tunes and sentimental serenades, whose lyrics were written by boyars or merchants.

Most European travellers found Romanian music simple and humdrum, lacking in harmonic accompaniment and with many tunes in a minor key, although some of the sources mention it was quite pleasant. Some travellers wrote that it had similarities with Italian or Greek music, but that it was “more regular in beat” and “more harmonious” than the latter (Cosma 1974: 36–38, 102–103).

“German music” (*muzică nemțească*) was the term used at that time for West-European music, regardless of the origin of the performers or composers.⁶ Written sources attest its occasional presence at prince’s court from the seventeenth century onwards (Cosma 1973: 242). It was only at the end of the next century that it ceased to be a foreign phenomenon and became part of Wallachian and Moldavian culture. German music arrived by several routes: the hiring of small ensembles at the princely court, balls, music lessons for aristocratic young ladies, and theatre tours.

The first court ensemble about which we have any definite information was that of the Saxon musicians from Braşov (southern Transylvania) hired by the then prince of Wallachia Alexandros Ypsilantis around 1780. The ensemble was hired “more for pomp than pleasure”, and some of its members were also music tutors to the prince’s sons. The band played pieces by Bach,⁷ Haydn and Staden, albeit without much success with the audience (Sulzer, in Zinveliu 1995: 147, 152, 160).⁸

⁶ The term *German* is analogue to the Greek *φράγκικος*.

⁷ Sulzer does not mention who is the Bach family member in question. Bearing in mind the period, it was probably one of Johann Sebastian’s sons.

⁸ Sulzer ascribes the German musicians’ lack of success to “the volatile and changeable disposition of the Greeks [who] couldn’t find an amusement to be pleasant for more than half a year” and mentions that musical pieces were often interrupted because of the impatience of the audience (Sulzer, in Zinveliu 1995: 147).

“German” dance music enjoyed a considerably warmer reception. Romanians grew accustomed to it at the balls organised by Russian or Austrian officers during the occupations. Balls are mentioned in written sources from around 1770, but their influence seems not to have lasted for long after the armies withdrew. Russian balls brought about a major change in the high society of Jassy and Bucharest only after 1800, and the spread of Western dances was part of this change. As in the case of Western clothing, the ladies embraced the new dances enthusiastically, whereas their husbands were rather reticent (Breazul 1970b: 63; idem 1970c: 73; Cosma 1973: 401; idem 1974: 124–126).

There was a small orchestra for balls at the Bucharest court under Prince Konstantinos Ypsilantis (one of the aforementioned sons of prince Alexandros, and father of the other Alexandros Ypsilantis, the Filiki Eteria leader), but his successor, Ioannis Karatzas, soon did away with it, probably for economic reasons. Dance parties continued to be held in ballroom as well as at the princely and boyar courts after the Tsar’s troops withdrew. European dances had already supplanted the Romanians ones by 1813, the latter being performed only at the request of foreign guests (Cosma 1974: 107–108, 126–128; Ghircoiașu 1992: 32–34).

Around the year 1820 there were two native ensembles that played European music at boyar parties in Wallachia.⁹ They included six to twelve Gypsy *lăutari*, who played one or more instruments. Beside the typical instruments of a *lăutari* ensemble, these bands also might play the guitar, cello, transverse flute, clarinet, or drums. We have information that one of the ensembles was trained by a musician brought especially from Sibiu (southern Transylvania) by the master of *lăutari*, enlightened boyar Dinicu Golescu (Filimon 1984: 118; Ghica 1976: 369–370; Bobulescu 1922: 101–104; Breazul 1970a: 158–159).

Opera had a similar history in Danubian Principalities. The first performances took place in Bucharest in the early 1770s and in 1792.¹⁰ Tours were resumed in 1818,

⁹ The sources on these ensembles contradict one another in some respects and so the image I show here is approximate.

¹⁰ Sources recorded the presence of an Italian theatre in Bucharest in 1785, without saying whether it put on opera shows (Cosma 1974: 153).

when a special theatre auditorium was inaugurated by Rallou Karatza, the daughter of the aforementioned Prince Ioannis. Subsequently, tours followed each other at almost yearly intervals until the insurrection led by Ypsilantis. In the other principality there were two tours in 1795 and 1812, to which might be added the two Russian theatre seasons in 1809, in which the role of music was not so clear. Shows seem to have been vaudevilles in Moldavia, whereas in Bucharest operas were presented, most of them Italian. Audiences in Bucharest could watch operas that were in vogue in Western Europe (*The Magic Flute*, *Idomeneo*, *The Italian Girl in Algiers*, *The Thieving Magpie*, *The Barber of Seville*). Some of Rossini's operas were played in Bucharest a few years after their world premiere, sometimes even before their first production in Paris (Burada 1974i: 65; Cosma 1974: 151–155, 159, 166–179).

Opera troupes visited Bucharest on their way back from Russia to Europe, whereas Jassy was a leg a German troupes' tours of Transylvania. Ensembles made long sojourns in the cities they visited, as was customary at the time, when travelling was an arduous undertaking. For example, the touring troupe that arrived in Jassy in 1812 stayed there for four months (V. Cosma 1984a: 95; O.L. Cosma 1974: 150–151, 170; Burada 1974i: 64).

It is likely that performances did not follow the scores in the way we are familiar with today. The same as in other parts of Europe, difficult passages were cut or adapted to the skills of the performers, and the work's structure was subject to alterations aimed at keeping the audience's interest (one example is an opera performed in Braşov, Transylvania, whose the first act was written by Rossini, the introductory march and choir by Cherubini, the second act by Mozart, and the third by Weber).¹¹ Local instrumentalists were hired to supplement the orchestra's permanent members. They might be members of foreign orchestras touring the city at the time or *lăutari*. The latter thus had an opportunity to learn Western tunes and familiarise themselves with the principles of harmony (Ghircoiaşu 1992: 105–106; Burada 1974i: 65; Cosma 1974: 175).

¹¹ The fact is only presumed for the Danubian Principalities prior to 1821, but attested in written sources for the mid-nineteenth century (Cosma 1975: 285–286).

The first accounts of boyars' or even merchants' daughters playing the piano or the harp occur after 1800. Their teachers were foreign musicians who had settled in Jassy or Bucharest. Some of the girls had learned to play in boarding schools in the Habsburg Empire. The piano began to be part of the education of young ladies of good family: in his letters to his daughter, who was a pupil at the Ursuline convent in Sibiu, one high boyar insists that she learn French and piano and devote less time to German. Girls learned easy pieces: Occidental dances—sometimes also a couple of Romanian dances—simple arias, and marches (Breazul 1970a: 153–154, 159–161; Cosma 1974: 113–122).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN MUSIC UP TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

European music in the Danubian Principalities (1821–1861)

Up until the union of the Principalities, European (“German”) music developed rather slowly and without spectacular changes. However it became more accessible to ordinary people and more appreciated than it had been before 1821. The number of girls at boarding schools studying singing, piano, or guitar increased (by 1829, the latter instrument had become popular enough for a Moldavian boyar to write a guitar method and prepare it for the press).¹² European dances were disseminated by the *lăutari* in the milieus of the merchants and town-dwellers. In 1825, there were parties with German music in an inn close to Jassy Metropolitan church even during Great Lent, much to the annoyance of the Metropolitan (Burada 1974b: 116–117; Cosma 1975: 162–165; Părnăuță 1985: 86–87, 90–95; Bobulescu 1922: 182).

Theatre shows played a large role in familiarising city dwellers in the capital with European music. Opera continued to be appreciated in Bucharest, while

¹² Young boyar women had the opportunity to sing or play at soirées in salons frequented by greater or smaller boyars, usually until they got married.

vaudevilles enjoyed great success in Jassy.¹³ Performances of Italian opera were resumed in Bucharest in 1833, after more than a decade during which city dwellers had to make do with a couple of tours featuring Singspiele and vaudevilles. Operas were regularly put on (a few shows every week) and the quality of the performances improved after 1843, when the Italian Theatre was established. The impresarios of the Italian Theatre took on a whole season (six to eight months a year) and received subsidies from the government, which laid down by contract a series of conditions regarding the number of the vocal and instrumental artists,¹⁴ the frequency of shows and the novelty of the repertory. Although the standard of performance was still far from brilliant, people enjoyed the shows, for which they were prepared to queue and even buy black-market tickets.

Italian operas were performed in Jassy before 1851, when opera seasons became regular. On the other hand, German and French troupes presenting vaudevilles and French operas (the latter since 1840s) were quite familiar to Jassy audiences. Vaudevilles in Romanian started to be written and performed from about 1845. The music was composed by a native musician named Alexandru (Adolf) Flechtenmacher. Romanian vaudevilles witnessed a decade of glory until the best actors found better jobs in Bucharest, where Romanian vaudevilles were to enjoy a similar success, this time set to the music of Johann Andreas Wachmann (Cosma 1975: 225–273).

Opera music supplied the greater number of pieces for the concerts given by foreign or Romanian virtuosos.¹⁵ There were a few such concerts every year and they were held in the salons of noblemen, theatre auditoriums, or summer gardens. The

¹³ Galați was the only town apart from the two capitals where musical theatre shows took place prior to the Union of Principalities (in 1855–1857, Cosma 1975: 264–265).

¹⁴ This is the minimum number of opera musicians requested by the state at different times: 11 soloists, 6 choir members, and 12 instrumentalists at Jassy in 1836; in the same city the number of choristers increased to 12 in 1842. In Bucharest, the troupe of the Italian Theatre was obligated to have 12 soloists, 24 choristers and an orchestra including a conductor and 32 musicians in 1855 (Cosma 1975: 238–239, 242, 264).

¹⁵ A few renowned musicians are to be found amongst them: harp player Nicolas Bochsa (touring in Jassy in 1841), pianists Franz Liszt (Bucharest and Jassy, 1846–1847) and Sigismond Thalberg (Bucharest, 1852), cellist Adrien Servais (Bucharest, 1852).

most popular were arias and ballads (Rom.: *romanțe*)—sung or played by a soloist with or without piano accompaniment—and piano adaptations of overtures. One could also listen to improvisations on Romanian themes, excerpts from concerts by French composers, etc. Sometimes small pieces for orchestra, including Romanian compositions, were performed during theatre interludes. Concerts of less accessible music—the so-called *spiritual concerts*—were very seldom performed: we know of only one from 1849¹⁶ and a series of another three in 1858, all of them in Bucharest. The playbill for the latter said: “Only OLD CLASSICAL music will be performed: Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Mendelssohn etc.” (Cosma 1975: 190–223; Burada 1974g).

The music schools sustained by the Philharmonic Societies in Bucharest and Jassy played a major role in the development of Western music in the Danubian Principalities. The aim of the Philharmonic Societies was the establishment of a national theatre, which was considered as “the most direct and safest means for eliminating bad habits and shaping a nation’s taste” (Ion Heliade Rădulescu, quoted in Burada 1974d: 193).¹⁷ In 1833, a group of young liberal boyars led by Ion Heliade Rădulescu founded a school of literature, declamation, and vocal music in Bucharest, which opened its doors the following year. Its vocal music class became the School of Vocal and Instrumental Music in 1835, with singing, violin, flute and piano classes. In the other principality, the main supporter of the school, which was called the Philharmonic-Dramatic Conservatory, was not a liberal, unlike in Wallachia, but rather a conservative: Gheorghe Asachi, mentioned in the previous chapter as the first to have taught engineering classes in Romanian. The Jassy Conservatory was established in 1836, having as its precedent the class of vocal music at Princely School, which functioned for one year in early 1830s (Burada 1974f: 285–286).

Classes were free of charge in both conservatories. Students were young people, male and female, some of them married, and their number was between twenty and thirty in each conservatory. We know that the four or five young ladies in

¹⁶ The *Stabat Mater* by Rossini and *Ave Maria* by Penazzi were performed.

¹⁷ As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the cultural activity of the Philharmonic Society in Bucharest mingled with conspiratorial activities.

the Bucharest school had been illiterate at the start (or at least some of them had been), and the Philharmonic Society gave them its full assistance when it came to clothing, accommodation, and meals at the boarding school. About half a year after the schools opened, students started to give public performances in Romanian, which included musical pieces composed by Rossini and Bellini, among others. There were a few dozen pieces in the repertoire every season, which were translated by the members of the two societies especially for this purpose.

Both schools functioned for only two years, though public enjoyed the shows. The Philharmonic Societies were abolished in 1838, partly because of differences between their members and partly because the rulers had reservations as to the societies' political and cultural activities. Despite their short lifespan, both conservatories succeeded in shaping outstanding artists who gained great success in the following decades (Burada 1974d; idem 1974e; idem 1974a; Hitchins 1996: 195).

The development of European music in Romania (1862–1914)

Like other European states formed in the nineteenth century, Romania was interested in being seen to be in step with the continent's older states. It was interested in constructing a national identity in which European values, including musical ones, had an important place. The state established and financed three Western-style national institutions in order to disseminate European music: the Conservatory, the Philharmonic, and the Opera.

The Conservatory of Music and Declamation was established in 1864, with the aim of "training Romanian artists in Church, instrumental and vocal music, and drama, as well as endeavouring by every means to disseminate and improve musical taste nationwide" (the Conservatory's regulations, quoted in Galinescu 1939: 727). The Conservatory included two schools, one in Jassy and the other in Bucharest, which were a continuation of the two schools established in 1860 and 1863 respectively. The school in Jassy was abolished in 1875 and re-established one year later, this time as a separate institution and called a Conservatory (ibidem: 698).

Educating amateurs was among the objectives of the founders of the 1864 Conservatory. Its rules stipulated the organisation of concerts and the establishment of

one-part choirs for craftsmen, and specified that the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction should give annual “prizes and encouragements” to the best choirs and orchestras. The draft budget stipulated the teacher of theory and solfège should be “supervisor of the artisans’ choir”, but we have no information that this choir lasted more than a year. The Conservatory quickly gave up amateurs and became a school for professionals. Many of its graduates played or sung in Romanian orchestras and choirs. A few of them, mainly singers, continued to study abroad and/or find jobs in renowned orchestras and opera theatres in Milan, Bayreuth, Berlin, or Boston.¹⁸ There were also graduates who did not practise as musicians; among them was a large number of unmarried women for whom a piano or violin diploma was above all a significant addition to their dowry (ibidem: 698, 727–728; Breazul 1970c: 117–129; Poslușnicu 1928: 256–259, 306, 309–310; Cosma 1983: 89–91; Ionescu 1985: 247–248).

In the beginning there was a small number of classes at the Conservatory: theory, Church choir, singing, violin, cello, double bass, piano, and harmony. The number of classes and teachers increased in time, showing small variations from year to year. Thus, in Bucharest, wind classes appeared in 1870; orchestra, in 1873; history of music, in 1883; harp, chamber music, choir singing, towards the end of the century. The principles of music (theory) and harmony were for a long time the only theoretic subjects; counterpoint, orchestration, and composition classes were established only after 1900. Likewise, the opera class was not established until after 1900. Church harmonic music was one of the most important classes in the first years of the Conservatory, but was abolished in 1875 (Breazul 1970c: 114, 117–118, 124–130; Cosma 1976: 59; idem 1983: 90–91, 97–101).

The “Romanian Philharmonic” Society was established in 1868 with the aim of “propagating the taste and culture of symphonic music, popularising masterpieces by classic maestros, and organising a complete and permanent orchestra in Bucharest” (the Society’s statutes, quoted in Cosma 1976: 72). The orchestra was founded in the same year and was conducted by Eduard Wachmann (son of Johann Andreas) until 1906. The number of instrumentalists was between thirty and fifty in the early years,

¹⁸ The most widely known graduate was probably violinist Franz Kneisel.

and almost eighty towards the end of the century. Most of them were instrumentalists in the orchestra of the National Theatre and the remainder in café and music-hall orchestras. From 1868 to 1903, almost half the total number of orchestra members were foreigners hired through Viennese impresarios, and the rest were graduates or teachers at the Bucharest Conservatory where Wachmann was a director from 1869 to 1903 (ibidem: 72–77; idem 1983: 127, Poslușnicu 1928: 275–278).

The Philharmonic gave a series of from three to six concerts every spring. Each concert included a few pieces (symphonies, overtures, concerts) that had enjoyed great success in the West. Most often, the orchestra played pieces by Viennese classical and German romantic composers: Beethoven, Wagner, Mendelssohn, Mozart. The proportion of French composers (Massenet, Saint-Saëns, Bizet) and nationalists (Grieg, Smetana) increased towards 1900. The only Romanian composer whose pieces were played was Enescu, who also had the privilege of conducting his own oeuvres (Cosma 1976: 73–79; idem 1983: 124–128, 131–133; Poslușnicu 1928: 277).

The Philharmonic Orchestra was disbanded in 1906 and replaced by the Orchestra of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The new orchestra likewise relied on the members of the National Theatre orchestra—which had abolished a short time previously—but had another director, Dimitrie Dinicu, and was financially supported by the state. Dinicu made many important changes: he increased the frequency of concerts to three to four a month (fifteen to twenty a season); he invited numerous foreigner soloists and a few foreign conductors; he chose to conduct categories of music ignored by his predecessor: very recent, vocal-symphonic, impressionist, or Romanian works (Cosma 1983: 134–146; Poslușnicu 1928: 197).

The Romanian Opera, a troupe of native artists who sang in Romanian, appeared in 1885, half a century after the performances of the Philharmonic Schools under Heliade Rădulescu and Asachi. In the same year, the ensemble obtained a contract and subsidy from the government—usually accorded to foreign troupes—for a season at the Italian Theatre. For the next two decades, the Romanian troupe—under various names—gained the majority of yearly contracts. Because of defective management, the formation was forced to cease performing in 1903. Thereafter, a few

operas were intermittently performed in Romanian, but a stable Romanian opera troupe did not exist until the end of the First World War (Cosma 1976: 147–156; idem 1983: 308–368; Poslușnicu 1928: 234–241).

The founder of the Romanian Opera in 1885 was George Stephănescu, a canto professor at the Bucharest Conservatory in Bucharest and composer for the National Theatre, and the members of the troupe were mainly his pupils (later, there were also hired foreigners). The repertoire was close to that of foreign troupes: Italian operas (Verdi, Donizetti, Mascagni), French operas (Gounod and Auber), and operettas (Offenbach and Lecocq). The number of pieces played in a season was less than that performed by foreign opera companies: sometimes it could be counted on the fingers of one hand (Cosma 1976: 143–153, 156–164; Poslușnicu 1928: 234–236).

Between 1897 and 1900, the leader of the Romanian Opera was Eduard Wachmann. Thanks to his competence and also greater subsidies, Wachmann garnered more success than Stephănescu. The new leader hired numerous famous foreign and Romanian soloists, augmented the number of instrumentalists and choristers, organised a corps de ballet, increased the number of works played in a season, ceased playing operettas, and introduced Wagner to the repertoire. Wachmann also presented a Romanian opera with a historical subject, *Petru Rareș* by Eduard Caudella, which was enthusiastically received by the critics, but ignored by the public who usually filled the auditorium. The company's exorbitant expenses led the state to cut its subsidies and it was eventually abolished. Stephănescu returned for one season (1902–1903), but did not succeed in reinvigorating the troupe (Cosma 1976: 154; idem 1983: 306–321).

Thus, the three national institutions in Bucharest (the Conservatory, Philharmonic, and Romanian Opera) contributed to a large extent to the development of Western music in Romania. All of them enjoyed government support—sometimes lavish, sometimes parsimonious—and were, at least for a time, under the directorship of Eduard Wachmann, who dominated Bucharest musical life in the second half of the nineteenth century. Wachmann managed to shape an orchestra capable of playing difficult pieces and to change the taste of music lovers, who became sensitive to the

symphonic genre and German composers.¹⁹ The change in the musical environment encouraged the appearance of musical societies—some ephemeral—which gave concerts in auditoria or in summer gardens. Most of them were choral societies or performed light music. Nevertheless, there were also a few string quartets and large orchestras, such as that of the Society of Music-Lovers (*Cercul Amatorilor de Muzică*) which included about seventy instrumentalists, and was able to perform symphonies by Beethoven (Poslușnicu 1928: 194–196; Cosma 1976: 81–84).

In other cities, Western music was less present. Foreign touring companies were less frequent and local ensembles fewer. Jassy enjoyed a notable musical life. Here, vaudevilles continued to be successful and were part of the repertoire of the National Theatre. On the other hand, Italian opera gradually declined: permanent seasons became a rarity in the 1880s. The Conservatory Symphonic Orchestra, which was established in 1894 and directed by Eduard Caudella, was impoverished a few years later after the retirement of its first director (*ibidem*: 93–94, 166–171; *idem* 1983: 165–167, 389–390; Poslușnicu 1928: 183).

Apart from the Craiova operetta company, which toured the country towards the end of the nineteenth century, ensembles from other cities—including a few symphonic orchestras—were only of local importance. But their very existence, as well as that of the operetta and opera companies which toured with greater or lesser frequency, almost yearly in case of Galați—shows that Western music was well represented in the urban world (Cosma 1976: 95, 176–177; *idem* 1983: 181–182, 407–409; Poslușnicu 1928: 203–206; Galinescu 1939: 701).

Musical education in Romania

I have mentioned above the most important music schools: the conservatories in Bucharest and Jassy. Another two high-level schools, this time private, appeared in the early twentieth century: the Bucharest Academy of Music and Drama and the

¹⁹ In 1874 Bucharest audiences were far from appreciative of the symphonic genre, as one may read in a concert review: “La Symphonie Pastorale [...] a ennuyé tout le monde: les plus grands amateurs de cette musique l’ont trouvée trop longue.” (Cosma 1976: 74).

Elena and Elefterie Cornetti Conservatory in Craiova. These two private schools did a very good job for decades (Cosma 1983: 92, 114; Poslușnicu 1928: 147).

The activity of the conservatories—concerts by student ensembles, as well as orchestras, which included a large number of graduates, such as the Philharmonic Orchestra—indicates to what degree Western music had become part of bourgeois life. On the other hand, it is the position of music in secondary schools that reveals the dissemination of Western music throughout Romanian society.

Music did not gain a permanent place in general education until 1875.²⁰ According to the law then adopted, singing was introduced into elementary, secondary and normal schools. Towards the end of the century, pupils at normal schools also took choir and violin classes (Cosma 1976: 64; Breazul 1941: 581–583; Vasile 1995: 94, 203; M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 73).

It was European music that was taught in these schools (with the exception of the theological schools, which will be discussed in the section concerning Church music). The songs pupils learned were tonal, mainly taken from books published in the West, and to which idyllic or moral lyrics were added.²¹ A great amount of the time was allotted to solfège and instruction in theoretical elements. Starting in 1898, the Ministry of Education promoted a series of laws and syllabi, with two main aims: a reduction in the weight of music theory in favour of aesthetic education, and the introduction of national music in schools. Spiru Haret, three times minister of Education in 1897–1910, believed that the purpose of the subject was to allow pupils

²⁰ There had been music classes in general education even prior to this, but they had lasted only a few years. Thus, they taught elements of Church (Byzantine) chant and a few pieces “with European harmony” in Wallachia in 1830s and 1840s; vocal Western music was taught in *girls’ schools* (secondary-level schools in the cities) in Moldavia in the 1850s; in 1866 there was a single music teacher (J.A. Wachmann) for all the seventeen elementary schools in Bucharest (M.-L. Murgescu 1999: 65–66, 68–70; Breazul 1941: 573, 581–583; Părnăuță 1985: 84, 87; Cosma 1976: 64).

²¹ For example, the melody of the famous carol *O, Tannenbaum* was sung to the following words (given here in English translation): “O, my dear mouse! O, my dear mouse! / Abandon thy bad habit. / Please do not gnaw all around thee. / Lest thou come to grief, I tell thee!” and Papageno’s aria from the first act of *The Magic Flute* went like this: “A fly is dancing in the air, / She does not want to rest, / And behind the fly, through the air / A bird now wing its way.” (Breazul 1941: 587–588, 600).

to learn to sing and to love singing, rather than to overwhelm them with pointless theoretical knowledge. Haret held that Romanian pieces were the best suited to this purpose, because they would move pupils to the highest degree; consequently, it was desirable primarily to teach them these pieces. The ministry asked some musicians to make anthologies of popular songs for elementary and secondary school. These anthologies were published a few years before the First World War (Breazul 1941: 584–601; Popovici 1911: 290–291; Vasile 1995: 94–95, 101–103).

Haret paid great attention to school choirs. He introduced choir singing to secondary-school syllabi in 1899, and regulated the organisation of public choir contests in Bucharest and Jassy three years later. The contests took place every year on the 10th of May, the main national holiday. Beside performance, the aim was also to promote patriotic, moral and religious music. Choirs developed very fast: they were usual at school fêtes and sometimes they took part in Church services in the cities. After 1908 elementary school choirs in the villages learned three-part pieces for the Divine Liturgy and regularly sang them at Sunday services. Last but not least, pupils in the normal schools, who were destined to teach in elementary schools, studied singing and conducting two- and three-part songs for three years (*ibidem*: 94–95, 203–204, 237–240; Tănăsescu 1911: 480–481; Popescu-Pasărea 1911a: 811–812).

From German music to Romanian music. Debates on national music

The epithet *national* was used in connection with Romanian music from about 1820. Foreign travellers in the Danubian Principalities used the term *national music* for pieces—most of them dances—played by the *lăutari*, music whose origin was presumed to be Wallachian or Moldavian. Twenty years later the term appeared in the writings of Romanians, too, and was used not only to refer to tunes played by the *lăutari* (or their piano arrangements), but also orchestral works based on folk tunes: *national* overtures and potpourris (Cosma 1974: 37–38, 126–127; *idem* 1975: 88–89, 348–357).

The sense of the term changed in the years following national independence. Musical magazines began then to distinguish between *popular* songs—“the ones that are popular in a country, regardless of their melodic nature”—and *national* ones,

which “express the life of a people, the adventures it experienced, its characteristic sentiment, the glory of its past, its future aspirations, its potential for development, and in general everything that relates its past and future life” (*Doina* magazine, no. 21/1884, quoted in Cosma 1976: 264). National music ceased to be seen as a music in tune with ordinary people’s taste and came to be seen as music—including art music and Church music—defined by a particular Romanian character.²²

The idea that Romanians (Moldavians) have a specific music in tune with “the nature of the soil [...] and the character of its inhabitants” was formulated probably for the first time in 1840 by Constantin Negruzzi. Afterwards, intellectuals contrasted the Romanian with the Oriental and German character, were preoccupied with the way in which “our [Romanian] originality has arisen via music and [...] differs [...] from that of other nations,” and tried to adumbrate the Romanian taste and the features of the national music. Thus, T. Ionescu ascribed the sad and bitter nature of national arias to the vicissitudes of the Romanian history; Nicolae Filimon said that Romanians liked the music of some Flechtenmacher operas because it was “graceful, nimble, and lacking in pedantry” and “in a style that is simple, sweet, and full of high national aspirations” (Filimon, quoted in Cosma 1976: 215); and Pantazi Ghica opined that Romanians preferred the tunes that spoke to the heart (Rossini’s) rather than those that spoke to the mind (Mozart’s) or the imagination (Gretry’s). (Cosma 1975: 17–18; idem 1976: 23, 202, 204, 224–225, 264).

The desire to have an art music in tune with the Romanian national arias—with their “sense and charm”²³—was expressed for the first time by the forty-eighters. At the time, fragments of popular music (mostly dance tunes) could be occasionally found in art compositions: in fantasies and potpourris by foreign or Romanians virtuosos, national overtures, and piano miniatures. At the same time, the efforts to establish a national theatre gave the inhabitants of the two capitals an appetite for

²² The term *national music* was occasionally used for art music, too, from at least 1851 (Cosma 1976: 11–12).

²³ From a letter written by boyar Alexandru Golescu to his brother Ștefan, in the winter of 1846–1847 (Cosma 1975: 11).

musical shows in Romanian and featuring subjects from Romanian history.²⁴ Both “serious” plays and vaudevilles—the latter to a greater degree—brought the life of ordinary people to the stage, accompanied by characteristic tunes. These tunes were either drawn without any change from the city *lăutari*, or created by composers in a style vaguely similar to the former. It was sufficient for an aria to feature augmented seconds—thus providing a contrast with the other musical numbers of the play—in order to be considered national (idem 1975: 11–12, 215, 282–306, 311, 334–335, 348–350).

The need for a Romanian art music was more and more frequently debated after the development of the national state and the modern musical institutions. Critics argued for the creation of a national school of composition and instrumental performance and for public concerts of national pieces even if they admitted that Romanian compositions could not be on the same level as Italian or German ones. In the 1880s, G. Misail and Grigore Ventura asked the composers to create pieces that would allow a Romanian hallmark to be perceived: “When will our liturgy, theatre and opera have a particular hallmark, a physiognomy imprinted with the national idea, which will resemble a harmonious reflection of every noble and lofty feature of the Romanian character?” (Misail 1880, quoted in Cosma 1976: 9). For most of the critics, the source of inspiration was to be found in folklore. The composer had “to study Romanian music assiduously, to seek its proper elements and to study them deeply, to remove everything that is Oriental, and finally to give them a dramatic and aesthetic shape” (Filimon, quoted in Cosma 1976: 216). The Oriental ethos was condemned as alien to the Romanian musical spirit and shunned in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, but accepted towards 1900 and even regarded as characteristic of Romanian music (idem 1976: 9, 22–23, 47–48, 78–85, 94, 198, 317; idem 1975: 301).

²⁴ The first dramas in Romanian were performed in Jassy in 1816 and in 1818–1819 in Bucharest. The first dramas on a Romanian historical subject were performed in Jassy in 1834 (*Dragoș, the First Sovereign Prince of Moldavia*, music by Elena Asachi, with an overture by Josef Herfner) and 1839 (*Prince Petru Rareș*, music by Paolo Cervatti), and in Bucharest in 1848 ([*Prince*] *Mihai*, fragment of an opera by J.A. Wachmann), all of them in Romanian (Burada 1974i: 63–66; Cosma 1974: 169–175; idem 1975: 212, 236, 239, 275, 311).

Composers responded to the critics' pleas, although the former probably did not match the enthusiasm of the latter. The Romanian hallmark could be detected in short vocal and vocal-instrumental pieces—where the popular melody was usually quoted with no alterations except those of a harmonic order—in rhapsodies and operas (in the latter, the hallmark was provided by the historical subject and musical themes with a folk character). As in the case of other national schools at that time, composers focused on urban melodies—particularly on Russian-like ballads (Rom.: *romanțe*)—and very seldom on peasant tunes.²⁵ The Romanian character was suggested mainly through the use of the augmented second, the *horă* dance,²⁶ and later—especially after 1900—the *doină*,²⁷ which became a symbol of Romanian music and the Romanian soul. Towards the end of the century, a few composers became interested in specific elements of folk song and tried to use them in their works. Gavriil Musicescu discussed the modal character of folk melodies, arranged a few of them using a modal harmony, and employed mixed metres; Eduard Caudella theorised three Romanian and Oriental modal scales and used them in his operas; and D.G. Kiriac wrote about Oriental and Western modes in Romanian folk songs. At around the same time, composers gradually stopped using folk tunes in their original form, and chose to create their own tunes “in the Romanian character” (ibidem: 206–208, 312–313, 318–321, 327, 421–425, 527–530; idem 1983: 64–74).

The most important nineteenth-century Romanian art musicians—Wachmann père and fils, Flechtenmacher, Eleonora Asachi (née Teyber), Ludwig Wiest, Caudella, Josef Herfner, and Eduard Hübsch—were of German origin, almost all of them born and educated in the Austrian Empire. It was they who were the best composers, performers, conductors, and teachers. Their origins did have any great importance in the debates about Romanian national music. For example, Nicolae Filimon considered Flechtenmacher “the national composer, who feels in a Romanian way and therefore can also compose in a Romanian way” (Filimon, quoted in Cosma

²⁵ Amongst the notable exceptions one may include the twelve Moldavian songs harmonised for a mixed choir by Gavriil Musicescu and published in 1889.

²⁶ The *horă* is a mixed ring dance in binary meter.

²⁷ The *doină*, or “long song”, is a highly ornamented lyrical song in rubato rhythm, with elastic phrases and a partially improvised overall form.

1976: 216), and C.M. Cordoneanu argued that Flechtenmacher, Wachmann père and Wiest “were foreigners only by birth, whereas by sentiment they were more Romanian than a lot of today’s Romanians. They sincerely loved the country they lived in, and treasured her store of melodies hidden in the bosom of the people, and all their compositions overflow with national spirit” (Cordoneanu 1896, quoted in Cosma 1976: 238). Composers of Romanian origin began to gain success towards the end of the century. Immediately after his debut with the Bucharest Philharmonic (1898), George Enescu was acknowledged as the most gifted musician of his generation and praised for his national compositions.

THE MUSIC OF THE *LĂUTARI*

The music of the *lăutari* changed according to the taste of their audience. The proportion of Western songs in the repertoire of the *lăutari* increased as the boyars became more Europeanised and theatre performances became more frequent. As I have already mentioned, by watching the plays or being temporarily hired in theatre orchestras the *lăutari* learned arias, dances and various other pieces and became accustomed to the basic rules of tonal harmony. They not only adopted Western compositions but also created new compositions that were more or less similar to them. During the Russian protectorate there flourished dances the first part of which was European-influenced and the second part of which was Oriental in style. Dances and songs entirely inspired by Western music appeared in the time of the Union (towards 1860). The development of European music was to the detriment of the Turkish and Greek musics: for example, the so-called *manele* (sg. *manea*)—at that time a generic term for a large category of vocal-instrumental lyrical songs of Oriental origin, probably linked to *amanes*—went out of fashion in the middle of the century, though they could still be found here and there towards 1900. Oriental influences at the level of modes, form, or ornamentation continued to be found throughout the period in question, although to a considerably lesser degree than in the early nineteenth century (Filimon 2008: 126; Ciobanu 1967).

Two other instruments, the cimbalom and the cello, entered the Bucharest *lăutari* ensembles around the middle of the century. Their emergence favoured the development of harmonic accompaniment—at that time, dyads (empty fifths) or triads, almost always on the tonic or dominant—²⁸ up until then only skittishly delineated by the *cobză*. On the other hand, the panpipes were used increasingly less in the second half of the century, especially in Moldavia (Filimon 2008: 127; Alexandru 1956: 71, 147; Ciobanu 1969: 9; Rădulescu 1984: 58–59).

The transformations in society, the abolition of slavery in particular, influenced the life of *lăutari*. Now without a master, they could freely adapt to the market by offering their services to all comers wherever needed. The change was not a radical one—the *lăutari* had had quite a degree of freedom of movement even in the time when they were slaves—and its effects did not become visible very soon, as many *lăutari* remained in the places where their families had lived for generations. Nevertheless, the transformations that followed are worth noting. The abolition of slavery marked the beginning of the professionalisation of rural music. In the following hundred years, peasants gradually ceased to make their own music or influence its evolution, mandating the *lăutari* to do so on their behalf (Ciobanu 1969: 13–14; Rădulescu 2002: 18–19).

The development of the urban life gave the *lăutari* an opportunity to do their job in a plenty of new places. Besides traditional engagements—serenades, boyars' parties, dances at taverns, inns, and fairs, weddings, official processions, etc.—the *lăutari* started to play in theatre and summer-garden orchestras and in small state ensembles.²⁹ Towards the end of the century, some of the *lăutari* sent their sons to

²⁸ Some of the transcribers and/or arrangers of national arias from the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century (including J.A. Wachmann, Alexandru Berdescu and Teodor T. Burada) mentioned that they followed the *lăutari*'s manner of accompaniment, at least for some categories of pieces (Cosma 1975: 103, 105; idem 1976: 267–269; Burada 1974b: 137).

²⁹ Speranța Rădulescu defines the state music (Rom.: *muzică de reprezentare statală*) as being “employed by the rulers of Romania on different official circumstances. This is a cosmeticised urban *lăutari* music which oscillates between regional and national, between village and city, between lower, middle and upper classes, a little bit ‘arranged’ in a Western way in order to penetrate various cultural environments. It includes potpourris and concerto virtuosity pieces that

conservatories and in order that they might have a career in art music. For example, of the children of Angheluș Dinicu—an excellent panpipes player from a famous family of Gypsy *lăutari*—one became the conductor of the Orchestra of the Ministry of Public Instruction (Dimitrie, mentioned above), another a violin teacher at the Conservatory of Bucharest (Gheorghe), and another a Doctor of Music in Vienna (Nicolae). On the other hand, the spread of Western music meant that other *lăutari* were unable to find a place in the new musical world and so they emigrated in order to earn a living (V. Cosma 1996: 26, 185–188).

MILITARY MUSIC AND OTHER OFFICIAL MUSICS

The history of official music in the nineteenth century differs from that of the music of the *lăutari* and Church music. In contrast to these musics, which were subject to transformation after coming into contact with “German” music, the old official music, the *mehterhane*, abruptly disappeared in the 1830s, and its place was taken by Western-style military brass bands. The changes in the status of the Romanian lands led to the appearance of other official musics: harmonic choirs, during the Russian protectorate, and the aforementioned state ensembles, after the independence.

Military brass bands appeared in the 1830, shortly after the Porte allowed the principalities to have its own armed forces once more, after a hiatus of one century.³⁰ The initiative of establishing military brass bands came from the progressive boyars, who were eager to have armies that were similar in every respect to those of the

originate in or draw their inspiration from popular tunes liable to become hits.” (Rădulescu 2002: 41).

³⁰ Unlike the Moldavian brass band, the Wallachia one from 1830 seems to have had a circumstantial nature and short life. It was in fact the “German” ensemble of Dinicu Golescu to which a few guitars and flutes of the barbers’ guild had been added. A second brass band was established in 1832 (Burada 1974c: 253). O. L. Cosma and others consider 1838—when the Viennese Ludwig Wiest was appointed the director of the music of the Staff and the Palace orchestra—as the moment when the brass band definitely replaced the *mehterhane* (Cosma 1975: 166–168; Poslușnicu 1928: 280).

civilised nations. The same boyars paid the wages and bought the instruments and the sheet music in the early years. Later, the bands were financed by officers, up until around 1860, when the state decided to allocate special funds to sustain them (Burada 1974c: 243–246, 249, 253; Sîlea 2006: 29–33).

Up until around 1900, the heads of the brass bands were foreigners who had studied music in the Habsburg Empire. Some of the instrumentalists were also foreigners, hired under contract. The bulk of the band consisted of regular soldiers without any particular musical education, who were taught by the foreign instrumentalists. After 1900, a large part of brass band members were pupils at the military secondary schools (Burada 1974c: 244–249, 253; Sîlea 2006: 169–170; Mărgăritescu, quoted in Sîlea 2006: 315).

The number of brass bands increased as new regiments were established: there were ten in 1864 and twenty-nine in 1880. Brass bands allowed Western music to become known to the inhabitants of smaller towns where there were garrisons. Brass band music could be heard on various more or less festive occasions: military parades, the ruler's name-day, visits by foreign officials, religious processions, popular fêtes, balls. In summertime, brass bands played regularly in public gardens, parks and squares.³¹ Of course, the repertoire varied according to the circumstances: marches, for parades; dances and light music pieces (polonaises, waltzes, potpourris, but also arrangements of overtures and opera arias), for balls and summer concerts (Poslușnicu 1928: 555–557; Sîlea 2006: 30, 33–34, 40–43, 47–53; Burada 1974c: 245, 246, 249, 253; Cosma 1976: 125–126; idem 1983: 294).

Brass bands could easily be transformed into orchestras by adding a few string instruments. Such a format was well suited to informal events that took place in winter—balls, soirées, and concerts of classical music—which were organised for the officers' families and attended by the city's high society. Military brass bands and orchestras, including a larger or a smaller number of instrumentalists, supplemented the theatre orchestras, if any—an important role held during the entire period in question—or else played in restaurants (Burada 1974c: 249; Sîlea 2006: 41;

³¹ For example, in 1857, the military music of Jassy played in the Pester garden on Tuesdays and Saturdays and in Copou garden on Thursdays and Sundays (Burada 1974c: 249).

Mărgăritescu, quoted in Sîlea 2006: 314, 320; Cosma 1975: 167, 222, 234, 235, 242; idem 1976: 126; Moldovanu 1939: 883).

The Staff Choir (Rom.: *Horul Cîntăreților Ștabului Oștirii*) was active in Bucharest between 1836 and 1844, under the direction of the Russian archimandrite Visarion, who was brought to Wallachia and hired especially for this purpose. The same as the brass bands, the choir included regular soldiers educated by Visarion. The choir sang harmonic Russian Church pieces with Romanian text at the Liturgy and feasts. In Moldavia we know of a twenty-four-soldier choir directed by Alexandru Petrino who sang two military songs at the prince's palace in 1847. The same Petrino was the teacher and director of another military choir in 1848–1849. Another festive choir, this time unconnected to the army, was that of the Russian monks at the most important Moldavian monastery, Neamț. In the 1850s, the monks made one-hundred-kilometre two-day journeys to Jassy in order to sing the Liturgy in the Russian style (harmonic pieces, in Church Slavonic) at the great feasts, including the feasts of St. Nicholas and Holy Archangels, which were the name-days of the Tsar and the Moldavian prince (Breazul 1970c: 81–87; Cosma 1975: 149; Burada 1974c: 246–247; idem 1974f: 276–277, 289; Păltinescul 1875: 466).

CHURCH MUSIC

Church music underwent important transformations during the nineteenth century: the repertoire was modified, notation became important in the transmission of tunes, Romanian became the only liturgical language, and harmonic music replaced monody at Divine Liturgy in the great churches and came to be sung even in the villages. Most of these changes stretched over several decades and were encouraged by the desire to break away from Oriental culture and draw closer to European culture.

Changes before the Union of the Principalities (1821–1861)³²

³² A synopsis in Greek about the history of Romanian church chant during this period can be found in Κωνσταντίνου 2003: 53–55, 71–105). The dissertation of Konstantinou refers as well to other

In 1821, Church music was in the midst of a process of transformation in Wallachia. Macarie the Hieromonk, one of the most educated monks at the Bucharest Metropolis, a graduate of Petros Efesios' New Method school and a teacher at its Romanian counterpart,³³ travelled to the Austrian Empire in order to print the first chant books in Romanian. The Metropolitan had assigned to Macarie the task of "transposing" chants into the Romanian language, by token of the New Method, in order "to enable the listeners to understand, too".³⁴ After a series of adventures, Macarie managed to print the basic books of the New Method in Vienna in 1823: the *Introduction*, the *Anastasimatarion* and the *Argon Heirmologion*. He published a further two translations after his return to Bucharest in 1827 (the second tome of the *Anthology*, for the Matins) and in 1836 (the *Engomia of the Epitaph*). Besides translations, Macarie added a few compositions of his own. Numerous other translations and compositions remained unpublished.³⁵

The next step was to disseminate the new chants throughout the country. In 1825, besides the four existing Romanian New Method schools in Bucharest, new schools in other eleven cities in the country were added, all of them public. Macarie was inspector of these schools until 1829, when he went to Moldavia at the request of the Metropolitan of Jassy, Veniamin (Costaki). For three years, beginning in 1831, Macarie the Hieromonk taught chant to Romanian monks at Neamț monastery.³⁶

subjects discussed in the following chapters of my thesis, such as *Romanianisation* (ibidem: 49, 77, 99–101, 103, 105), Ciobanu's view on the church languages used by Romanians (ibidem: 57–61), the Putna School (ibidem: 47–49, 51) etc.

³³ The Romanian-language New Method Church music school had been established by Dionisie (Lupu) in 1819, shortly after his enthronement as Metropolitan. He was the first Bucharest metropolitan of Romanian origin after twenty five years of Greek hierarchs (Păcurariu 1994, 2: 404, 412–413; 3: 534).

³⁴ From a contract signed by Macarie in 1820, transliterated in Moisescu 1985a: 117.

³⁵ Gheorghe C. Ionescu counted about one hundred and fifty original chants and over two thousand translated chants in Macarie's oeuvre (Ionescu 1994: 213–214).

³⁶ Macarie arrived in Neamț in 1831, as one can see from a letter he wrote there. Musical manuscripts attest his presence there in 1832 and 1833, but in 1834 he was back in Bucharest (Moisescu 1985a: 157–158; Vasile 1997a: 30–35).

Besides the dissemination of the new Chrysanthine theory and the employment of Romanian in chanting, Macarie changed the musical repertoire to a great extent. The old compositions of Germanos, Balasios and Chrysafis were replaced with new ones by Petros Lampadarios and his contemporaries. With a few exceptions, the original works and translations of eighteenth-century Romanian chanters were discarded.

Macarie was also important in spreading notation to places other than the capital and main monasteries. Thanks to the schools he directed, notation began to circulate around the Wallachian towns and the neighbouring villages, where chant had hitherto been overwhelmingly transmitted by oral tradition. The fifteen schools were short-lived.³⁷ Nevertheless, they existed long enough to shape a new generation of chanters, perhaps the best educated in the history of Romanian church music.

In Moldavia reform was introduced around the same time as in Wallachia by the Hierodeacon Grigorios of Chios.³⁸ Macarie's adaptations also circulated in Moldavia: five hundred copies of the volumes printed in Vienna were available for sale there (Moisescu 1985a: 171, 176).

Chant in the Romanian language continued to develop after Macarie's death (1836). Anton Pann in Bucharest, Hierodeacon (later Bishop) Nectarie Frimu in Huși, Dimitrie Suceveanu in Jassy, and others continued to adapt Greek chants in Romanian, composing original pieces, teaching in schools³⁹ and printing books: about forty volumes, most of them printed for the first time, were published in the twenty-five years after Macarie's death. The Greek chants that were adapted were drawn from

³⁷ The latest information about some of these schools dates from 1830. The schools in Bucharest functioned up to 1831, and the one in Ploiești up to 1838 (Popescu 1908: 67–70; Părnuță 1985: 83–84; Ionescu 1989: 76).

³⁸ According to Georgios Papadopoulos, the hierodeacon was invited to Jassy in 1816 together with Georgios Lesvios, and in 1819 he was in Bucharest with Petros Efesios. Ștefan Păltinescul mentions the archimandrite Grigorie of Morea, future abbot at Barnovschi Monastery in Jassy, in the same position of first teacher of the New Method at the Metropolitan Church in Jassy in 1817 (Παπαδόπουλος 1890: 328–329, 345, 375; Păltinescul 1875: 465).

³⁹ Including the theological seminaries: the old one in Socola (Jassy) and those established in the episcopal sees of Wallachia (since 1834) and Moldavia (since 1852), Păcurariu 1994, 3: 250–252.

volumes printed in Constantinople or were compositions by the Romanian editors' Greek teachers: Dionysios Foteinos, Grigorios Vyzantios, Georgios Paraskiadis. Despite the burgeoning of Romanian chant, chanting in Greek continued to be held in high esteem.

Harmonic Church music began to be sung by Romanians during the Russian protectorate. The beginnings were due to the two aforementioned directors, Father Visarion and Alexandru Petrino. The choir of the former was established at the behest of Wallachia's ruler and functioned under the army until 1844, when it was abolished. In these circumstances, Archimandrite Visarion moved his choir to the church where he served as ecclesiarch and in 1845 established a school of *vocal music*—as harmonic Church music was then named, in contradistinction to traditional music, which began to be called *Oriental Church music*—of which he was the head for ten years. Next to choir classes, students were taught reading and writing, and elements of music theory, harmony and violin. In the 1850s the school was re-organised several times, being incorporated into the theological seminary or the School of Fine Arts and Music. Despite of Visarion's ambitious plan, the school did not succeed in creating a second choir in Wallachia (Breazul 1970c: 85–95).⁴⁰

In the other principality, Petrino—a graduate of the chanting school of Grigorios Vyzantios and first chanter of an important church in Jassy, St. Spyridon (Păltinescul 1875: 466)—was the first teacher of *vocal music* at the Socola Seminary (1844–1854).⁴¹ After 1845, Petrino was also taught the choir class, where harmonic Church pieces by Russian composers (in Slavonic and Romanian) and from the

⁴⁰ There is information about a choir at the Girl School in Slatina, which sang harmonic music during the Liturgy as early as 1846. However, we do not know whether this happened regularly or only once a year and we have no evidence about the pieces that were sung. Another source mentions that Teodor Pascal, a graduate of Visarion's school, taught *vocal music* free of charge at boys' and girls' schools in 1851–1857, but we don't have any details concerning the choirs he organised (Părnuță 1985: 85, 93–94).

⁴¹ Bishop Melchisedek says that the then metropolitan Meletie (1844–1848) abolished the choir on the basis of an epistle from the Patriarch, which Meletie had purposely asked for (perhaps after the letter that Patriarch addressed to the Church of St. Nicholas in Vienna in 1846, Φιλόπουλος 1990: 34).

repertoire of the Greek church of the Holy Trinity in Vienna⁴² (in Romanian) were studied. Beside this choir, which continued after the retirement of Petrino, a few other Moldavian choirs are known: the one conducted by Gheorghe Burada in Jassy, established in 1854, which included around forty choristers; the one at the Huși Seminary, established one year previously; the choirs directed by priest Costachi Milu, on the Rotopănești (aprox. 1848–1861)⁴³ and Ștefănești (1861–1864) estates. One must also add the choir from Ismail, a city that became part of Moldavia after the Crimean War (Burada 1974f: 287–293; idem 1974j; Breazul 1962: 16–17, 22).

A harmonic choir singing in Romanian was established at Neamț Monastery in 1859, a few months after the Russian monks were banned from singing in Slavonic. Romanian monks progressed very well and two months later they were able to sing the whole Divine Liturgy, winning the admiration of the nuns from two neighbouring convents, Agapia and Varatic. At the abbess's request, the ministry decided that the teacher at Neamț, Ioan Cartu, should also organize the choirs of the two convents. All three choirs were abolished three months later, after the Metropolitan informed the abbots that he did not give his blessing for *vocal music*—which he regarded as “unfamiliar to the holy traditions and rules, [...] barbaric, [...] an import in poor taste” (Burada 1974f: 282; Breazul 1962: 24)—and those who continued with the choir would be not allowed to take Holy Communion. The monks and the bulk of the nuns refused to resume rehearsals even when the Metropolitan retracted his decision as a result of government pressures and when, not long thereafter, the ruler forced him to resign. Cartu stayed at Neamț until 1863 and confined himself to teaching *vocal music* to the pupils of the seminary (Burada 1974f: 278–284; Ionescu 1985: 242–245; Păcurariu 1994, 3: 111).

Church singing also came under the influence of the opera. A memoir by Ion Ghica (which is perhaps not very accurate) reveals the strong impression that opera

⁴² The Church of the Holy Trinity was the church of Greeks of Austrian citizenship in Vienna. The repertoire in question was harmonised by Benedikt Randhartiger, based on the traditional chants sung by Ioannis Chaviaras (first chanter of the church since 1842) and published in numerous editions beginning with 1844 (Φιλόπουλος 1990: 26–30; Ρωμανού 2006: 108).

⁴³ Since 1854, the choristers from Rotopănești were pupils of the elementary school financed by landowner Neculai Istrati: forty boys and ten girls.

made on the best chanters in Bucharest: “[...] thenceforth they could not sing a single *Cherubikon* or *Koinonikon* without turning to *La ci darem la mano* from *Don Juan* and *Una voce poco fa* from *The Barber*. One Sunday at Liturgy, there was a huge scandal at the Sărindar Church. The churchwarden, a pious man, noticed that *Sanctus* was being sung to the melody of the aria *Voyez sur cette roche!* from *Fra Diavolo*.” (Ghica 1976: 53).

Church music in Romania (1862–1914)

Shortly after the Union of the Principalities, the government took a series of measures aimed at harmonising Church chant with the new status of an independent, European and “civilised” nation. In 1863, a decree forbade the use of church languages other than Romanian on national soil.⁴⁴ Two years later, another decree ordered that all church chanters, canonarchs, and vergers in Bucharest should take a European music course at the recently founded Conservatory, the declared aim of the course being to replace monodic chant with small ensembles (duos, trios, quartets) singing in parts in churches. Beside these decisions that directly affected Church music, there were regulations such as the laws and decrees secularising the monastic estates, autocephaly, and the monastic regime, which indirectly contributed to the dilution of the traditional chant, a move away from the Constantinopolitan model, and the development of harmonic Church choirs (Grăjdian 1993; Păcurariu 1994, 3: 110–119; Ionescu 1985: 247).

The Church choir classes at the Bucharest Conservatory were a very important stage in spreading *vocal music*. Although the project to replace Byzantine music did not succeed—a lot of chanters refused to attend the classes, and churches did not have the resources to pay harmonic ensembles—the students of Ioan Cartu (Church choir) and Eduard Wachmann (harmony) produced the first generation of Romanian choir directors and composers of harmonic Church music. The Church choir class functioned for only another two years after the retirement of Cartu in 1873. Subsequently, Church harmonic music could be studied only in seminaries around the

⁴⁴ The use of Greek was permitted in only three churches in Romania, for the Greek communities in Bucharest, Jassy, and Brăila (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 112).

country, where it had been taught since 1863 (Ionescu 1985: 249–251; Moldoveanu 1991: 132).

Church choirs multiplied in Bucharest and Jassy in the 1860s and later in the big cities. Toward the end of the century, Byzantine chant and harmonic music came to be regarded as complementary rather than antagonistic. It was not unusual for a chanter to master both neumatic and staff notation and to be hired as a “teacher of both musics”. In large churches, harmonic choirs could be heard during the Divine Liturgy, and sometimes at weddings and funerals, with all the other services being officiated using monodic chant. For hierarchs and composers at the end of the century, the *tradition vs. modernity* (i.e. monody vs. harmony) debate was obsolete: the national church music had to be modern but rooted in tradition, and the composers’ job was to find the best means to create such a music.

The style of adaptations and original compositions underwent few transformations until the First World War. Like his forerunners, Cartu used the Russian scores of Dmytro Bortniansky, Stepan Davidov, and Pyotr Turchaninov, with texts translated into Romanian. The translated versions preserved the melody and succession of chords as far as possible. The most important changes occurred in the structure of the chords, as a result of the reduction to three parts in the Romanian scores (Ionescu 1985: 254–256).

With a few exceptions, original compositions were written from the 1860s onwards, many of their authors being conductors of church choirs. Their works followed the German or Russian style, in line with their maestros and the places where they had pursued their musical studies. Among the former there were art music composers,⁴⁵ such as Alexandru Flechtenmacher, Eduard Wachmann and George

⁴⁵ One must note that some of them were not Orthodox and could compose both Orthodox and Catholic liturgies. Despite this fact, there is no evidence of any influence exerted by Catholic liturgical music from Romania or abroad upon Romanian Orthodox music, though Musicescu referred to compositions in Catholic style: “I do not think there is a country with a greater variety of styles in Church compositions than Romania. In our churches with a choir one can hear: simple harmonic combinations, on the basis of a figured bass; compositions in the modern style of the Catholic Church, as well as the Italian stage style; attempts at a national style, using popular melodic figures; claims of a wide musical knowledge, such as imitations, fughetas, complicated

Stephănescu. The most prominent exponent of the latter direction was Gavriil Musicescu, conductor of the Metropolitan choir in Jassy, the best choir in Romania at the time (and the first to include women, after 1895)⁴⁶.

In the 1870s, composers focused on the harmonisation of traditional tunes, out of an obvious desire to combine native and modern elements. The representatives of the new trend were students of Cartu and Wachmann: Alexandru Podoleanu, Gheorghe Ionescu, Ioan Bunescu. Their works were relatively simple: homophonic in texture, with skimpy harmonies, seldom using secondary chords, with the parts often in unison or parallel thirds. Composers preferred to harmonise syllabic diatonic pieces, avoiding difficult chants. However, when they tackled them, they made significant changes: chromatic scales were usually replaced with diatonic scales, melismas were reduced, and modulations removed.

At the end of the century, the Liturgy of a young composer who had studied in Paris, D. G. Kiriac, was highly praised by both clerics and musicians. Having a good composition technique, Kiriac had arranged chants by Macarie the Hieromonk and other chanters for mixed choirs (SATB), without making any essential modification to the melodic line. Syllabic chants were treated homophonically, and melismatic ones polyphonically, in the manner of Palestrinian counterpoint.

The tradition of Byzantine chant survived after 1860, although it was less vigorous. The cultural context had changed, and chanters were no longer part of the intellectual elite. The erosion of their social and economical status contributed to a decline in the musical level of the regular non-monastic chanters. Many of the books printed in the second half of the century, which were no longer based on contemporary Greek editions, but on previously published Romanian ones, included fewer and simpler chants than those published in the first half of the century. Gradually, *arges katavasies* and then *arges doxologies* ceased to occur, having been

modulations etc., attempts at an imitation of the style adopted in the Russian Orthodox Church, original compositions by foreign authors, mainly Russians, and moreover, one can even hear profane choirs with religious texts.” (Musicescu, quoted in Cosma 1976: 192).

⁴⁶ With the exception of the aforementioned pupils’ choir from Rotopănești. For the year 1895, I have corroborated data from Poslușnicu 1928: 356–357 and Păcurariu 1994, 3: 137.

replaced by shorter variants, and the number of communion chants and *kratimata* significantly decreased.

Around 1900, notation was used by an increasing number of chanters, but the average level of their competence diminished. However, there was always a well educated elite, capable of composing and interpreting the most difficult chants with virtuosity.

CONCLUSIONS

During the nineteenth century, Western music (or “German” music, as it was called by Romanians at the beginning of the century) underwent remarkable development in Wallachia and Moldavia. Whereas before 1821 it had been confined to dance tunes at boyars’ balls and occasional opera performances given by foreign companies, towards the middle of the century it became a constant presence in upper-class life, both on official occasions—brass bands at various ceremonies and harmonic choirs at feast-day liturgies—and as recreation: operas and vaudevilles were often played, more or less formal concerts were given by amateurs or virtuosos in salons, and the *lăutari* themselves created Western-style pieces and performed them with a harmonic accompaniment. By the second half of century, the gentry no longer listened to Ottoman art music and was fascinated by German symphonies, Wagner’s overtures, and late Romantic operas.

At the same time, Western music spread throughout society, from the upper strata to the ordinary people and from the capital to cities and towns and finally villages. Opera performances were open not only to boyars, but also to the other city-dwellers willing to pay for such entertainment. Melodious arias and dances later circulated in summer gardens, where they were played by brass bands or small light music orchestras, to taverns, fairs, the well-to-do inhabitants of town outskirts, and peasant weddings, for which *lăutari* ensembles were hired. An essential role in the dissemination of Western music was played by education, be it private—boarding schools and girl schools, attended by daughters of the petty bourgeoisie as early as the

beginning of the nineteenth century—or public. By means of the introduction of music in the compulsory elementary education in 1875 and the measures taken in the last decade of the century—the establishment of school choirs and reform of the curricula, on the one hand, and the financing of the rural education, which had an effect on the schooling of a large number of children in the villages, on the other—Western music succeeded in pervading practically the whole of society.

Last but not least, Western music had a significant bearing on other musics in the Romanian society, wholly replaced Ottoman brass band music (the *mehterhane*), and became another option for Church music beside *Oriental* chant. By welding itself to folklore (partly real, partly imaginary), it gave birth to a *national* Romanian music.

CHAPTER 3: “ROMANIAN NATIONAL CHURCH MUSIC” IN MUSICOLOGICAL WRITINGS

In this chapter, I shall present a history of the image of the Romanian church music prior to First World War and its relationship with the nation, and I shall shape the notion of *Romanian national church music*. To this end, I have analysed the most influential writings in a century and a half of existence of the national Romanian state: 90 works by 21 authors—musicologists, chanters, hierarchs, church music historians. The works under examination were—in order of frequency—scientific articles, papers in dailies, volumes of music history, speeches and lectures, prefaces and introductory studies, broadcastings, graduate theses, obituaries, interviews. The oldest source dates from 1872, the most recent, from 2010.

The investigated material was arranged by authors and grouped in three periods determined by the two World Wars. When an author was active in more than one period, it was ascribed by the date of his most important work; this is why, for example, Ion Popescu-Pasărea (1871–1943) was considered important for the inter-war epoch, while his student Niculae M. Popescu (1881–1963) for the previous one. Each section corresponding to a period starts with a brief summary of the opinions explained in detail within the section itself.

The purpose of each entry is to show each writer’s views on the definition of Romanian church music, its origin, history, personalities and monuments before the First World War, its traits and its connection with other musics. Of particular interest to me were the association of the attribute *national* and the relationship between church music and the Romanian nation. For each author, I paid more attention to new ideas and reinterpretations of the old ones.

As one may expect, the analysis did not lead to clear and unequivocal answers. Authors did not present systematically their point of view on national church music, and my task was to construct it from affirmations spread throughout their texts. These affirmations are often ambiguous and sometimes even

contradictory.¹ Besides, the lack of a standard music vocabulary makes it difficult to interpret some of the terms in the early works, especially those from the nineteenth century.

I seldom question the validity of the statements made by the authors under examination in this chapter, leaving this for the fourth and fifth chapters of the thesis.

PART 1: FROM THE BIRTH OF THE ROMANIAN STATE UP TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR²

The image of Romanian church music suffered small but significant changes in the four decades that preceded the First World War. The very sense of the phrase *Romanian chant* was modified: to the initial meaning of *music in the Romanian language*, the connotation of *typical Romanian modality of composing and singing* was added. Furthermore, the presence of Romanian chant in the history of church music was pushed back before the seventeenth century (when chant in the Romanian language had first appeared), without ascribing a precise date to its appearance.

Romanian church music was considered a *national* music from the 1870s. *National genius* was on the map of all the authors analysed below except one, though without being seen as more important than the sacred character of the music. Church chant was reckoned as part of the people's culture, of the national patrimony, which had to be preserved and developed. Most of the authors pleaded for a uniform repertory all over the country—because a nation implied uniformity—reflecting the double identity of the nation: Oriental and European (*psaltic* melody in harmonic clothes). Last but not least, they put forth the notion

1 Of course, I have no intention of blaming the examined authors, who wrote their works according to their concerns and the ideas of their times, but to point out an aspect of methodology.

2 This section was published in a slightly different form, see Moisil 2007.

that church chant had contributed to the construction of the national identity and the cohesion of the Romanian nation.

Concerning the history of Romanian chant, everyone admitted the Oriental character and the Constantinopolitan origin of the Romanian chant. Almost everybody agreed as well on the effort made by Romanians to impose their language in chanting, the opposition of the Greeks, and the role played by Macarie the Hieromonk in the development of Romanian chant. There were divergences of opinion on the manner of adapting the Greek chant into the Romanian language. After 1880, the general view was that *Romanian taste* was the main factor according to which Macarie and other Romanian chanters modified the original melody when adapting it into Romanian.

The characteristics of the Romanian chant were defined in opposition with those of the so-called Constantinopolitan chant—a current whose members were not clearly identified. Amongst the former were counted the sweetness and clarity of the melody, and the lack of foreign figures and profane character. One should also note that these traits were not considered intrinsically Romanian; the foreign figures, for example, were described as having had a temporary existence (and probably not a widespread one) in the Greek chant, being eliminated by the reform of the Three Teachers.

Towards 1900, the image of the chant adapters changed and the first signs of the resetting of their hierarchy—which was to take place in the twentieth century—appeared. Authors started to criticise Macarie the Hieromonk for sacrificing the language in favour of the melody. Anton Pann—till then criticised for the abundant use of musical rhetoric (exaggerated leaps, improper cadences, etc.), and the introduction of external figures and foreign turns in the melody—was rehabilitated and praised for processing the chant according to the Romanian taste and for cleansing it of foreign elements.

Ioanne Dem. Petrescu

Ioanne Dem. Petrescu (1818–1903)³ is considered the author of the first Romanian

3 To avoid confusion with Rev. Ioan D. Petrescu (1884–1970), the father of Byzantine

history of music.⁴ *Arta artelor sau Elemente de istoria muzicii* (“The Art of Arts or Elements of Music History”), published in Bucharest in 1872, is perhaps the first writing in modern Romania which discussed the problem of national identity in Romanian church music.

The life of Ioanne Dem. Petrescu reflected the transformations that took place in the Romanian petty bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century.⁵ Petrescu attended Romanian and Greek schools in his native town, Vălenii de Munte (Wallachia), and then the Seminary of Buzău where he learned chanting probably from Matache, a pupil of Macarie the Hieromonk.⁶ He was hierodeacon for a while,⁷ worked as a teacher, and wrote poetry and a few small works on history and pedagogy. One of the peaks of his life was the Revolution of 1848. Because he was involved in the revolution, after its defeat he was arrested, defrocked and expelled from monasticism. He was banned from working in public education until

musicology in Romania, the biographer Viorel Cosma refers to the author of *Art of Arts* as Ioan D. Petrescu-Petruș (following the orthography of the name in his youth), and to the other one as Ioan D. Petrescu-Visarion (after the name of the church where he was a priest). A third Ioan Petrescu, contemporary with Ioanne Dem. Petrescu (Petruș), was a chanter in Craiova. In the lexicon of Gheorghe C. Ionescu, the three persons are referred to as PETRESCU, Ioan, PETRESCU, Ioan D. (Ioanne Dem.) and PETRESCU-Visarion, Ioan D. In this thesis, I use the variant Ioanne Dem. Petrescu, as it appears on the cover of the *Art of Arts* (V. Cosma 1984b: 182; Ionescu 1994: 279–280).

- 4 There were both a few writings on Romanian music and a few Romanians who wrote about music before Petrescu; their contributions were included in general histories of the Romanians or were restricted to a particular music genre (Byzantine chant, opera, peasant music), and were not general histories of music as was Petrescu’s work. A list of authors before Petrescu is given in V. Cosma 1984b: 192, to which one can add Dimitrie Cantemir, Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann.
- 5 For Petrescu’s life see Petrescu 1889 or V. Cosma 1984b: 181–187.
- 6 Matache was chant teacher at the seminary at the time when Petrescu was studying there. Although Petrescu refers to two of his seminary teachers in his autobiography, he does not mention Matache at all (Petrescu 1889; Ionescu 1995: 3–6).
- 7 Viorel Cosma inaccurately refers to Petrescu as a hieromonk. He was not ordained as priest but only deacon (V. Cosma 1984b: 182, 184–185; Petrescu 1889: 71–73, 82).

Cuza took over the political power and the revolutionaries were rehabilitated (V. Cosma 1984b: 182–187).

The Art of Arts is a booklet of 70 pages dedicated to the “Romanian youth of both genders” (and in particular to the author’s pupils), which includes texts on the history of music, initially intended for a series of conferences.⁸ The two sections concerning church music occupy one third of the pages, another third being allotted to Western music, from the First Crusade to the Romantic age. The author is a downright partisan of Western music and mentions its progress several times, whilst he deplores the absence of progress in the Oriental one.

Some of the information concerning church music comes from the preface of Macarie’s *Heirmologion* (some of the information being explicitly quoted by Petrescu). However, Petrescu arranges the data chronologically and adds new information which is not entirely credible and perhaps taken from older chanters through oral tradition (cf. Macarie 1823b: iv, vi–ix, xii; Popescu 1908: 27, footnote).

The author centres the discussion around the progress that music made in time, the acme attained by Western music, and the necessity of reforming Romanian church music by following the Western model, thereby promoting the aesthetic education of the masses. Although it is not the main one, the national criterion plays an important role in the appraisal of some of the musics, particularly of Romanian church music (Petrescu 1872, especially: 63–64, 66–67, 69).

Ioanne Dem. Petrescu believes that national music—a term he does not define—is an important element of one people’s culture and postulates a strong connection between the development of “national music” and the glory of that people. Moreover, he opines that “there cannot exist patriotism without music, which should not be neglected by our young nation”, and that by cultivating a church music similar to the Western one, we could create “the most solid elements

⁸ Viorel Cosma claims that the book had a very limited circulation (V. Cosma 1984b: 181). This was probably not the case, seeing as though the copy in the Library of the Romanian Academy bears the number 1331.

of our national culture”. Similar to organic nationalists, Petrescu thinks that the origin of a people has to be reflected in its music. Consequently, in the case of the Romanians, who are “of Latin race settled against the side of the Orient”, he finds suitable a church music with “a Western-Eastern air”, based—though is not clear in which way and which proportion—both on Oriental music and Occidental choirs (ibidem: 21, 67–68).

According to Petrescu, the Romanian Church took the Oriental music from the Church of Constantinople and was still using it at the moment when he was writing the book.⁹ Next to it, Petrescu mentions chanting in Slavonic, whose relation with Romanian music is not discussed (ibidem: 32–35, 66).¹⁰ The larger part of the section concerning the history of Romanian church music deals with the introduction of chanting in Romanian, a process that went on for two centuries, beginning with the mid-seventeenth century: “Romanians under [Prince] Matei started to Romanianise their Church, training for this a few national chanters” (ibidem: 35).

Petrescu describes the history of this period as an open conflict between chant in Greek and Romanian respectively: the Phanariotes “worked as hard as they could to un-nationalise us”: Romanians from Wallachia and Moldavia started “the Crusade [...] against foreignness in the churches of our homeland”: from 1798 to 1819, “the fights between the Romanian Church and Greek [chanter]s [...] went on almost without interruption”: Macarie died “tired and with his strength dried up because of the conflicts with the Phanariotes” (ibidem: 35–37, 40). Ioanne

9 Petrescu mentions that until Constantinople was founded, the cult and music in the churches in Roman Dacia were those of Rome. Connections with the New Rome get tighter after the fall of the Old one (Petrescu 1872: 32–33).

10 The author’s position on chanting in Slavonic is not clear. Although one might expect that Petrescu would oppose it to chanting in Romanian, as he did in the case of Greek chant, he seems to look at it with sympathy while denouncing the desire to replace it with the Greek one: “Romanians under Matei Basarab and Vasile Lupu perceived the coquet (sic) aim of the Music of Phanar and Athos, which—by tempting [chanters] against the Slavonism already present in our churches—intended by means of [Phanar and Athos] melodies to take the place of Bulgarians, our old guests and allies” (ibidem: 34–35).

Dem. Petrescu mentions a few Romanian chanters and writes more about Macarie the Hieromonk, to whom almost a half of the 11 pages on Romanian church music are dedicated. He “worked zealously and actively to draw out the Greek chants from the churches of our country, and prepare them with Romanian [lyrics]”, and his major merit was that his actions “showed he was a good Romanian like few others at that time”. In the portrait of Macarie, the author lingers on certain details in order to highlight the organic relationship between the Hieromonk and the Romanian nation, emphasising thus the legitimacy of Macarie’s actions and certifying the quality of the results. Petrescu claims that Macarie was the son of a peasant (“from the circle of agricultural people”), thus ascribing his origin to the profound part of the nation, or puts him in relation with symbolic places in the national landscape: Macarie “visited his country and Moldavia’s picturesque Monasteries” (ibidem: 37–39).

Beside the battle over the language of the church ritual, Petrescu sees differences of musical and theological nature between the chants of Macarie and the ones of Constantinople chanters. The latter “corrupted the sacred melodies and, by preferring profane [features], complied with the style of the Persian *manele*¹¹ and discarded the hymns’ rhythm and accentuation”. On the contrary—“far from making the Constantinopolitans’ mistakes”—Macarie paid attention to rhythm¹² both in his own compositions and in adapted chants: “Macarie doesn’t lack precision and frisky variation. Both of them are accompanied by that natural and pleasant metre given by the accuracy of tones and the stress of the intoned words” (ibidem: 41). Even if the formulation is not so clear, the excerpt seems to refer to the concordance between grammatical and metrical stresses that could be found in Macarie’s works. The *frisky variation* could be the presence of metrical feet that differ from the regular ones.¹³

11 For *manele*, see Chapter 2, subchapter *The Music of Lăutari*.

12 Petrescu defines rhythm as “number, cadence, metre, regular succession of identical beats. Rhythms (sic), for music and poetry, is what we call metre, or a successive movement which obeys some proportions” (ibidem: 41, footnote).

13 The context favours the interpretation of *the frisky variation* as a rhythmical feature. However,

Therefore, it is the rhythmical aspects that make the difference between Macarie's and the Constantinopolitans' chant. The question that arises is who the Constantinopolitan chanters that Petrescu is talking about were. According to the previous section (*The Music in the Christian Church*), the ones who "had corrupted the Church's melodies with the *manele* or *te-re-rem-s* according to the Turks' taste" were the successors of Petros Lampadarios. Petrescu opposes them to the Athonites, who remained "loyal to the antique system" and "successfully cultivated the art".¹⁴ He does not indicate a "corruptionist" chanter and the Constantinopolitans he mentions are favourably seen: Petros Bereketis (peerless, in Petrescu's opinion), Ioannis Protopsaltis, Daniil Protopsaltis and Petros Lampadarios followed the precepts of the Athonites; Iakovos gets close to Petros Bereketis; Chrysafis, Balasios and the Three Teachers are mentioned without any negative commentary (ibidem: 30–32). The only ones incriminated by Petrescu are those who were active in Wallachia (amongst them Dionysios Foteinos, Panagiotis Engirliou (Iunghiurliu), Markakis (Marcache), but not Petros Efesios), and not for musical reasons but for their financial pretensions and opposition to chant in Romanian (ibidem: 36–37).

Ioanne Dem. Petrescu also finds aesthetic differences between Macarie's chants and the Greeks' chants: "the simplicity, clarity and sweetness of his compositions [of Macarie] surpassed those of every Greek chanter in the country". In the compositions of Macarie, one can see "the good taste and the progress of art", whilst the Greek chant "had not progressed at all" since the beginning of eighteenth century. Petrescu believes that, despite its qualities, Macarie's chant was only a give-and-take solution chosen by the hieromonk because of the context: Macarie "knew very well that his works could be only temporary against the

on page 28 Petrescu uses the phrase in connection with intervals, while on page 22 "variation of the melodies" seems to mean *modulation*.

¹⁴ Somewhere else Petrescu divides the Christians within the Ottoman Empire in two categories: on the one side, the collaborationist Phanariotes ("the men of corruption and rottenness"); on the other one, those who retired from public life, followed by "the musical celebrities of the Eastern Church" who lived mainly in the monasteries of Mount Athos (ibidem: 34).

progress of art, [having to live] until the country was cleansed of the Greek-ness introduced by the Phanariotes”. On the basis of a paragraph in which Macarie eulogised the music of Western Europe, Petrescu claims that the hieromonk had intended to replace the Eastern music with the Western one, but knew that it was not the proper time (ibidem: 32, 41–43).

Petrescu does not give details about any other chanters but Anton Pann, to whom he allots no more than eight lines. Pann’s chant lacks the aesthetic attributes that distinguish the music of Macarie from the music of the Greeks in Romanian countries: “Anton Pann [...] could not internalise the simplicity, taste and sweetness of his master’s music.¹⁵ The compositions of Anton Pann [...] show a quite evident sterility with regard to taste”. Petrescu neither compares Pann with Greek chanters nor accuses him of committing their mistakes (ibidem: 41–42).

To sum up, Ioanne Dem. Petrescu delineates the chant of Macarie the Hieromonk by opposing it to the Constantinopolitan one. He discriminates between the two chants on the basis of musical (rhythmical), aesthetic and religious features. It is not clear whether by Constantinopolitan chant, the author means the mainstream in the nineteenth-century Constantinople or a deviant movement particular to the chanters brought by the Phanariotes into the Danubian Principalities at the beginning of the same century. Petrescu considers Macarie’s chant as a temporary solution, despite its qualities, and pleads for the introduction of harmonic choirs and the creation of a music with a Western-Eastern character appropriate to the Romanian people.

Stefan Păltinescul

Although entitled *Musichia* (“Music”), the article of Stefan Păltinescul¹⁶ issued in

¹⁵ Petrescu erroneously considers that Anton Pann was an apprentice of Macarie the Hieromonk.

¹⁶ Păltinescul wrote his name in various forms: Paltinescu (most often), Păltinescu or Păltinescu (Bucescu 2000: 127). The name appears in different variants also in the books of Poslușnicu and Ionescu (Paltinescul and Păltinescu, Poslușnicu 1928: 82–83; Păltinescu and Paltinescu, Ionescu 2003: 102–103, 317). I use here the variant from the paper I discuss (Păltinescul 1875: 466).

Jassy in 1875 talks only about Orthodox church chant.¹⁷ Few things about the author are known: he learned the New Method at the school of Grigorios Vyzantios—a school that functioned in Jassy from 1828 to 1839—and was first chanter at the monastery of St. Spyridon in Jassy (Păltinescul 1875: 465–466; Poslușnicu 1928: 82).¹⁸

The text is a history of chant that opens with Ptolemy Philadelphus, Sts. John of Damascus and John Koukouzelis, goes then to the chanters of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, talks about the musicians who adapted Greek chants into Romanian, and closes with brief portraits of chanters in Jassy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A large part of the paper is a restatement of the history in the Introduction of *Bazul...* by Anton Pann.¹⁹ The lines about Romanian adapters starting with Macarie the Hieromonk and those about the chanters of Jassy are Păltinescul's original contribution.

The general tone of Păltinescul is more moderate than that of Petrescu and of other later musicians. One cannot find with Păltinescul the same reproaches or accusations against the Greeks, be they chanters in Constantinople or Jassy.²⁰ He simply mentions that the *protopsaltes* Ioannis and Daniil “introduced figures from the Persians’ profane music in church chants—thinking that they did a good job—and also used some signs from that music, in order to better explain to their pupils the ideas introduced by them”, but does not claim anywhere else that the Greek

17 About the identification of Stefan Păltinescul as the author of the text signed *St. P.* see Bucescu 2000: 124.

18 Florin Bucescu misquotes a fragment according to which Păltinescul would have known Western music (*vocal music*) and introduced it in the seminary and the army; in fact, the information is about Alexi Petrino (Bucescu 2000: 123, Păltinescul 1875: 466, see also the previous chapter of this thesis).

19 The mention of Mihalache Moldoveanu, Vasilie the Chanter and Ianuarie the Protosingel indicates that Păltinescul took over the information from Pann and not from Macarie the Hieromonk or from the Greek sources used by Macarie and Pann (Păltinescul 1875: 462; Pann 1845: xxviii–xxix; cf. Bucescu 2000: 124–125).

20 One has to mention that the wife of Păltinescul was Greek, the sister of the *protopsaltis* of the Metropolia of Jassy Georgios Paraskiadis (Poslușnicu 1928: 83).

Church had suffered lay influences (Păltinescul 1875: 460).

Among the composers and adapters active in the period that concerns us, Păltinescul appreciates Macarie the Hieromonk and Dimitrie Suceveanu and mentions Nectarie Frimu in passing. Păltinescul does not discover any peculiarities in their works and does not intend to compare them with the works of the Greek chanters, but only affirms their high quality: “The melodies composed and modelled by him [Macarie], are so sweet, unique and inimitable; even the Greeks would like to translate his chants if they could without adding or subtracting anything from their context (sic)”. He views Dimitrie Suceveanu favourably: “The clergy and the Romanians owe him a lot because the churches all over the country, seminaries and schools use only his books, which are the best after Macarie’s”. Like Petrescu, Păltinescul records the intense activity of Anton Pann, and judges his chants unfavourably (ibidem: 462–464).

The history of Păltinescul is somewhat singular for his time. It has the same structure and contents as other works of its kind, but unlike those it does not include references to the nation and antitheses between Romanian and Greek chant or between Western and Eastern music. Perhaps that is why the editor of the journal in which Păltinescul’s article was published added in a footnote his thoughts about the differences between the former and the latter, implicitly affirming his (and the Romanian people’s) belonging to the Western world.²¹

Bishop Melchisedek

Bishop Melchisedek (lay name: Mihail Ștefănescu, 1823–1892) was one of the most important and well-educated Romanian clerics from the second half of the nineteenth century. *Magister* of the Spiritual Academy in Kiev and member of the Romanian Academy, bishop Melchisedek was at the same time an active

21 The footnote is signed with the initials I[ancu]. M. K[odrescu]. The editor finds fault with the Oriental or Asian chant for its nasal sound, for its bawls and for the *ison* which breaks off without any reason, and feels obliged to demarcate himself from the sensitive aesthetic of the interpreters who “obstinately claim” that the *ison* is indispensable (Păltinescul 1875: 461, footnote).

politician: he was a deputy in the Moldavian *ad hoc* assembly, minister of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction for a very short time, delegate for negotiations with Russia, and senator by right after being ordained as bishop. He was a strong supporter of the controversial church reforms of Cuza's regime (the autocephaly of the Romanian Church, the secularisation of monasteries' properties, etc.) and a member of the Masonic lodge in Ismail, where he served as a bishop (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 164–171, Nestorescu-Bălcești 2003: 336–337).

Melchisedek was interested in church music, particularly in the harmonic one which he could listen to while being a student in Kiev. He supported the harmonic choir of Ismail's cathedral, interceded for the conductor of the choir, Gavriil Musicescu, to study at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory and supported (financially as well) the first publication of the *Anastasimatarion* on staff notation by a team led by the same Musicescu. He bequeathed an important amount of money for the publishing of church music books and for the establishment of a school of chanters (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 166, 170, Poslușnicu 1928: 106, 365–366).

In 1881, bishop Melchisedek presented a lecture on church music to the Holy Synod of Bucharest. The lecture was published the following year in the Church journal, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* (see Melchisedek 1882). It included a long historic introduction, an analysis of the state of things, and a draft of rules for improving the situation of music in the Romanian Church. The historical part was based on various sources and would influence opinions on Romanian church music for a long time.

As Melchisedek put it, all the chant of the Orthodox Church originated in the chant of Byzantium. From there, it was spread to all the European Orthodox countries where in time it suffered major changes. Three were the causes of these changes: linguistic differences, political circumstances, and the musical genius of the people who had adopted it (Melchisedek 1882: 16).

Romanian Church had created its own music in the old days (Melchisedek uses the term *melody*). Old and new chanters modelled and enriched the old music of the Eastern Church according to “the Romanian musical and practical genius”. It thus became an element of national identity: “our church chant that can be truly

named national, because it is popular and has become identified with the taste and religious sense of the Romanians”. For Melchisedek, the national criterion is fundamental to judging the quality of a piece: in the draft of rules, he proposes the selection of those chants that are “the best and most compliant with our national old chant”. In agreement with the national ideas of the time, Melchisedek considers that this chant has to be preserved—just like any other product of the Romanian genius—, cultivated and developed. Likewise, those who would work for the development of “the culture of our church chants” are called “worthwhile citizens who are worthy of receiving signs of honour and distinction” (ibidem: 42, 45–47).

Because a nation presupposes cultural unity, the bishop finds it necessary that the same music (in both variants, monodic and harmonic) be heard in every church of Romania. He also proposes to spread the sole variant of chant beyond the frontier, to all the Romanian provinces (that is, to Romanians living in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires). This is one of the reasons why he recommends the transcription of chants from neumatic to stave notation (ibidem: 42–44).

The way Melchisedek sees the history of the Romanian chant deserves a detailed examination. Melchisedek claims that the beginnings of church chanting among the Romanians coincide with the very beginnings of the Church and Christianity (among the Romanians), without indicating a precise moment for these beginnings.²² Anyhow, they are to be placed before the mid-sixteenth century, the date of the oldest document regarding church chant in Moldavia, as mentioned by the author (ibidem: 12–13). Melchisedek says that two types of chant existed in the Romanian lands “from the old [or *oldest*] days”: Greek and

22 The passage “*la Români, de când există religia și biserica creștină, tot-d’auna a existat și cântarea bisericească*” could be also interpreted as *church chant has existed among Romanians ever since the apparition of Christianity*, suggesting that Melchisedek talks about Romanians (and their Christianity) in the first century or at least in the first Christians centuries. In my opinion, the author does not claim this, but only that Christianity among the Romanians was permanently accompanied by ritual music (Melchisedek 1882: 12).

Slavonic. The first one was also called “cultured or lordly” or “noble” and used musical notation. It was spread and preserved due to dedicated monasteries (whose monks were Greek) and Phanariote rulers who brought the best Constantinopolitan chanters with them. Melchisedek explains the spreading of the chant by means of a mechanism of gradual diffusion, from the high-ranking churches to the small ones: thus former apprentices of the *protopsaltes* of the princely churches in Bucharest and Jassy became chanters at other important urban churches, where they practiced the chant they had learned from the Greeks and, in their turn, transmitted it to their own pupils (*ibidem*: 14, 16, 24, 26).

Slavonic chant, also called “Bulgarian or Serbian”, emanated from the Greek one and could be equally found in Bulgaria, Serbia and Galicia (northeast of the Austrian Empire). It also used the system of eight modes, but “it developed in a traditional way, artlessly, with changes produced by the musical genius of every nationality”. Bishop Melchisedek also called it “not cultured, vulgar or peasant” because of its “traditional” (i.e. oral) character. In Wallachia and Moldavia, this chant was cultivated mainly in non-dedicated monasteries lacking Greek influence, where monks were Romanians (*ibidem*: 18, 21–22, 24, 26).²³

Romanian chant appeared by “applying” the Slavonic or Greek chant to the Romanian text after the seventeenth century, when the printing of liturgical books in Romanian began.²⁴ The successor of the Slavonic chant with Romanian text, in use till the nineteenth century, was gradually replaced by the Greek chant of the written tradition, especially after the adoption of the new semiography. Melchisedek considers that a few relics of the Slavonic chant have been preserved

23 That non-dedicated monasteries were not under Greek influence does not mean that Greek music was absent there. The author adds further on: “In our cenobitic monasteries, monk-chanters profoundly dealt with cultivating Greek *psaltic* notation and applying it to the Romanian chant, although they sang only a few chants in Greek” (*ibidem*: 27).

24 Concerning Romanian printings, Melchisedek does not mention that the first liturgical books were destined for priests and the first chant books (for the *analogion*) were printed only in the eighteenth century. For the first liturgical printings in the Romanian language, see Păcurariu 2004: 482, *idem* 1994, 2: 18, 25, 50, 52, 97–103, 131–133, 142–149, 170, 172, 196–197.

(the Palm Sunday Canon, the *Mărimuri* of the *polyeleos*),²⁵ whose melodies are not to be found among Greek chants. Greek chant was applied to the Romanian language in the aforementioned non-dedicated monasteries, but could not develop because of the lack of support, on the one hand, and because of the fear of Romanian chanters of being persecuted by the Greeks who “were dominant in the country and hated all that was Romanian”, on the other. In the early nineteenth century, Romanians acted under the influence of the French Revolution in order to have Romanian institutions. Despite the opposition of Greek chanters, they managed to “refashion” (i.e. adapt) all the church chant books in the New Method and teach them in chant schools dependent on the Metropolia of Bucharest and Jassy and Neamț Monastery.²⁶ The adaptation of books into Romanian is seen by Melchisedek as a founding act and Macarie the Hieromonk, as its actor, is called “the first teacher of our today Romanian-notated chant”, while his books are praised for being “the norm for Romanian church chant”. The three schools “have contributed to the Romanianisation of the chant”: here were formed the most notorious Romanian chanters, in their turn teachers and adapters, with whom the history of Melchisedek ends (ibidem: 14, 21–22, 26–32).

The term “Romanian chant” (Rom.: *cântare românească*)—as used by Melchisedek—refers primarily to language: Romanian chant means chant *in Romanian*.²⁷ However, Melchisedek also distinguishes some musical (a *Romanian*

25 The *pripēla* and the *mărimuri* are short hymns chanted at the third *stasis* of the *polyeleos* owed to the monks Filothej of Cozia (Wallachia) and Makarij (Russia). See Simedrea 1970, Ionescu 1997.

26 Melchisedek claims that the metropolitan of Bucharest Dionisie Lupu charged Macarie “to refashion and teach in Romanian *all* (emphases added) chant books of the New Method, which Macarie did without delay” but adds later on that chanters educated in the three chant schools “improved and completed the previous works on *psaltic* notation” (Melchisedek 1882: 30, 32).

27 It is sometimes difficult to translate faithfully Melchisedek because of the ambiguity of some words. Like today, the term *cântare* is used by Melchisedek both for *vocal (church) music* (be it chant or harmonic music) and *vocal musical piece*. The ethnic epithet that designates a particular type of *cântare* could indicate the language used (e.g. the *Slavonic* chant), the origin of the chant (e.g. the *Bulgarian* chant of the Russians from the south-western Czarist Empire),

melody, *ibidem*: 34–35, see also 37, 42), aesthetic and religious particularities. In general, Romanian chant seems to have been the same as the Slavonic one for a long time, since the major distinction made by the author is between the Greek chant and the other two: “Therefore in Romania there were from the old days until recently two kinds of chant: the Greek or cultured one, which may also be called lordly or noble, and the Slavonic one and later the Romanian one, both of them not cultured, which may be called vulgar or peasant chant” (*ibidem*: 24; cf. 26).

The other type of Romanian chant, which used musical notation and came from Greek chant, was characterised by “the sweetness and smoothness of the melody” and by “the sense of piety”. Unlike the contemporary Greek chant, it was immune to “Turkish traits”, that is “the figures foreign to the church chant”, which entered the chants under the influence of the Turkish song starting with Petros Lampadariou.²⁸ Melchisedek emphasises that Greeks opposed the Romanians’ attempt at having a Romanian chant with musical notation, their own Romanian chanters and “a chant cleansed of the Greek-Turkish traits” (*ibidem*: 24–30).

Some of the traits of the Romanian chant are mentioned in the passage concerning the chant in Bukovina, a Moldavian territory annexed by the Austrian Empire in the late eighteenth century. Romanian chant, Melchisedek put it, was carefully preserved in Bukovina after the annexation, being immune to the changes that took place in Moldavia because of the Chrysanthine reform. The differences

or both.

Most of the time, the author uses the term *melodie*, i.e. melody when he discusses the musical qualities of a chant, and *psaltichie* for the neumatic notation. There are cases though in which one word is used for the other, as for example in the last paragraph on page 19, where *psaltichia* has the meaning of *cântare*. In the same paragraph the word *cântare* is used in a discussion on intervals and pitches, a case in which the term *melodie* would have been a better fit.

²⁸ Melchisedek writes that in the eighteenth century “one might hear in the church the same *manele* and *taksimler* of the Turkish song [or *music*] that resounded all over the Bosphorus when Turks used boats and delighted themselves in caiques”. The main cause of the church chant’s degradation was the imperfection of the notation. The degradation stopped with the reform of the Three Teachers “who put the figures of the Turkish song away from the church chant” (*ibidem*: 24–26).

between the chant in Romania and the chant of Bukovina in the nineteenth century (or Moldavia in the late eighteenth century) were not significant, since Melchisedek writes this: “The melody of the Romanian church chant in Bukovina is the same as ours. The same eight modes, the same *proshomoia*, the same variations of the tones. The difference is that it has preserved the melody of old Romanian chanters more unaltered even in its faults, such as the sacrificing of the linguistic stresses and the drawling”. However, a few lines before that the bishop has noted that the *sacrificing of the accents* (the incongruence between the words’ stresses and the musical accents) is a common feature of all orally transmitted chants (ibidem: 36–37).

For the nineteenth century, Melchisedek distinguishes two currents in the church chant melodies in the Romanian language: the first one is Romanian, the second one contains “many turns [that are] foreign to the old Romanian melody”. The former is the one encountered the previous century in non-dedicated monasteries, “which represented the genius of the Romanian chant and which was preserved more likely by tradition in monasteries and popular schools, and which was eventually resumed in the chants notated and edited by the immortal teacher Macarie”. It is not clear, though, what is the relationship between the Romanian current of the nineteenth century and the two previous Romanian variants of the eighteenth century. The wording *by tradition* suggests a relation with the orally transmitted chant that had inherited the old Slavonic tradition. On the contrary, *notated chants* (Rom.: *cântările lucrate pe psaltichie*, lit. chants worked on *psaltic* notation) that originated in the Greek written tradition (of the New Method) would rather point at the Romanian chant with musical notation that appeared by *applying* the Greek chant to the Romanian text. One explanation—though it is difficult to admit it—could be that the two traditions of the Romanian chant, the written and the oral (the *Greek* and the *Slavonic*) merged towards the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹ I think that a more plausible explanation would be that

²⁹ The existence of a unique tradition at the beginning of the nineteenth century would be in contradiction with Melchisedek’s statements concerning the efforts of the Romanians to create a musical notated chant in their own language, and the essential role played by Macarie the

Melchisedek considered that beyond the differences between the two variants of the eighteenth century, *the genius of the Romanian chant* was the essential element that characterised both of them, distinguished them from the Greek chant, and linked them to the chant of the nineteenth century (ibidem: 33, 35).

The second current is represented by Anton Pann, who “when applying the melody to the chant[’s lyrics] sacrificed very much the Romanian melody in favour of the foreign [elements]”. Melchisedek describes Pann as “a great admirer of Greek chanters and their products” and insists on his connections with the Constantinopolitan chant. Part of Pann’s chants are “mere translations from Greek”, in contradistinction to Macarie, for whom Melchisedek never uses words with the same root as *translate* (Rom: *traduce*) but only *refashion* (Rom. *preface*). Melchisedek also shows that Pann was a student of the Greek chanters Dionysios Foteinos, whose “compositions Anton Pann praises very much”, and Petros Efesios.³⁰ Besides Greek elements, one may also find in Pann’s chants “turns” of melodies from Bulgaria and Russia. By using those turns, Pann “deviated [his chants] from the taste of the Romanian national melody” (ibidem: 33–34).

Correspondence with the Romanian taste is the criterion used in order to discriminate between the two currents and to judge the value of chants and authors: “We cannot but regret that his [Pann’s] chants do not have the sweetness of the Romanian melody, formatted in Romania and which distinguishes Macarie’s chants, that are more pleasing to the Romanian taste, as a product of the Romanian

Hieromonk in this endeavour.

³⁰ Bishop Melchisedek keeps silent on the fact that Macarie the Hieromonk was a student of Petros Efesios too, although he was surely informed about this. The information can be found in Pann 1845: xxxiii, and Melchisedek quotes in his lecture from the pages xxvii–xxxiii of this book. The only sentence in the lecture from which one could infer that Macarie was a student of Efesios is “After the introduction of the New Method around 1816, a renowned Greek chanter called Petros Efesios came to Bucharest and established the Greek school of the New Method at St. Nicholas Church (Șelari), where he taught the Romanians the Greek chant in the New Method”. However, this statement does not necessarily imply that Melchisedek thought that Macarie had learned the New Method from Petros Efesios or another Greek chanter (ibidem: 33–34).

sense inherited from our ancestors throughout many centuries” (ibidem: 34). One has to remark that to the antithetic pairs *Romanian–foreigner* and *Macarie–Pann*, common for most of the authors analysed in this chapter, Melchisedek adds a third one, *Moldavia–Wallachia*, according to the zone in which the two currents spread respectively (Macarie’s Romanian current in Moldavia, Pann’s foreign current in Wallachia). Beyond the fact that Pann’s music was spread mostly in Wallachia, one must notice that bishop Melchisedek puts his native province in a more favourable light (according to his national criterion), a sign that Moldavian identity still played an important role, even for an earnest unionist like him. A slight note of bias favouring the Moldavians could be perceived in the presentation of the other chanters and editors, four of them from Moldavia and three from Wallachia (ibidem: 31–36).

Unlike monodic chant, to which the bishop often attaches ethnic attributes (Bulgarian, Russian etc.), harmonic chant does not receive such qualifiers.³¹ It is a sign of a larger identity, desired and assumed by the Romanians of the nineteenth century, the European one: harmonic music “is usual in all the civilised countries in Europe”. This identity stands out against the Oriental one, and at this level the differences between Greek and Romanian are negligible. Indeed, when talking about the Romanian church music of his days, Melchisedek discriminates between two categories: “the old Greek-Romanian melody on *psaltic* signs, and the harmonic choral singing on staff notation” (ibidem: 40–41).

Not every harmonic music is considered appropriate for the Romanian Church. Melchisedek proposes the harmonising of chants in use in the Romanian Church; in other words, of chants suitable to the Romanian taste. Therefore, choral music is judged according to the melody that was harmonised (ibidem: 46).

The lecture of bishop Melchisedek fundamentally influenced the image that

31 When it is necessary to mention the origin of harmonic music, the author chooses the adjective as qualifier of another noun: “the harmonic pieces of the Russian *Church*” (emphases added) instead of *Russian harmonic pieces*. When he talks about the adaptation into Romanian of the works by Russian composers used by the first harmonic choir in Wallachia, Melchisedek uses the verbs *refashion* (Rom.: *preface*) and *model* (Rom.: *prelucra*), (ibidem: 40).

Romanians had about the history of their church music and its national character. A lot of his ideas were reproduced almost identically by later musicologists and liturgists, and some are still widely accepted.

Alexandru Luca

The Bachelor's thesis in theology *Priviri generale asupra Musicei din Biserica Ortodoxă de Răsărit de la începutul creștinismului și până în zilele noastre* ("A General View on the Music of the Eastern Orthodox Church from the Beginning of Christianity until Nowadays"), defended and issued in 1898, is the only known work of Alexandru Luca. There is no biographic information about its author and we do not know to what extent he knew church music. The problems of the work suggest average musical competences, his approach being historical rather than musicological.

The dissertation includes three parts; the last one deals with the church chant among Romanians. The approach is heavily indebted to Melchisedek's lecture and the differences between the two works are of nuance rather than substance. Luca shares the bishop's views concerning the Constantinopolitan origin of the chant, its adaptation to Romanian taste, the Greek and Slavonic variants and their *application* to the Romanian text, the conflict between the Greek and the Romanian chanters, the Turkish influence, the actions of the great Romanian chanters, the decline of chant in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the matter of harmonic music. Luca's nationalism goes further than Melchisedek's and can be perceived in the way he sees the Romanian chant, its relation with the Romanian people, or the rapport between Romanian and Greek chanters.

While for Melchisedek the epithet *Romanian* attached to the chant referred primarily to the language of the liturgical texts, for Alexandru Luca it seems to indicate a style or kind of chant proper to Romanians—different from the Russian or Latin chants—, which for Melchisedek was a secondary meaning (Luca 1898: 78, 85).³²

³² Luca explains the Latin music mentioned by Filothei sin Agăi Jipei (1713, the author of the first

For Luca, the relationship between the Romanian people and the national chant is active in both directions. Chant in the Romanian church is not only the result of the transformations due to the musical taste of the Romanians, but has in turn contributed to the construction of the Romanian national identity: it “ennobled the sentiments and nourished the nationalism of the people in time of both happiness and unhappiness”. The melodies given by Melchisedek as examples of relics of Slavonic chant are considered by Luca evidence that “the church melody has been identified with the very melody of the Romanian people”. While both authors attached the Palm Sunday Canon and the *Mărimuri* to the Romanian chant, the former stressed their Slavonic origin, while the latter stressed that they became a characteristic element for the music of the Romanians (ibidem: 69).

Alexandru Luca professes high regard for every chanter that he mentions. Pann is exonerated of all reproaches and enjoys the most space in Luca’s work because of the great number of volumes issued by him. Like Macarie, Pann is considered to have worked “to nationalise more or less the melody” (ibidem: 87–88). Luca adopts Melchisedek’s view that Suceveanu had improved a lot on Macarie’s volumes, and adds his own arguments: Suceveanu accommodated “the melody to the nature of the Romanian language, whereas Macarie sacrificed the language in favour of the melody” (ibidem: 88, footnote). The hierarchy of chanters is thus overturned and for the first time Pann gets a small advantage. A detailed presentation is also provided of the active chanters from the late nineteenth century who had not been mentioned in the previous works analysed above: Ștefanache Popescu and Nectarie the Schemamonk³³ (Melchisedek 1882:

manuscript with Romanian text and musical notation, see Barbu-Bucur 1981: 52–63, 89–90, 164–165) as “those chants with lay character, carefully avoided by the author” (Luca 1898: 78, cf. 37).

33 Nectarie the Schemamonk (also known by the Greeks as Nektarios Vlachos, 1804–1899) lived in the Holy Mountain from about 1840s or the early 1850s. No source indicates that he adapted chants before coming to Athos, and his compositions had a narrow circulation in Romania before 1900. The authors examined in this chapter seldom refer to him and only en passant up to the beginning of the twenty-first century. For all these reasons and despite his irrefutable musical capacities, I was not interested in this thesis on Nectarie the Schemamonk (see Vasile

32, Luca 1898: 85–96).

Nifon N. Ploieșteanu

Nifon Niculescu (1860–1923), vicar bishop of the Metropolia of Wallachia (bearing the title *Ploieșteanul*, i.e. of Ploiești) and later bishop of the Lower Danube, was one of the most musically competent members of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church. He graduated the Seminary and the Conservatory in Bucharest and had a good knowledge of both Byzantine chant and harmonic church music (Ionescu 2003: 267).

In 1902, bishop Nifon issued a collection of church music in 10,000 copies which were distributed free of charge in churches and schools all over the country (Nifon 1902: 8 [Prefață], 238). In addition to musical pieces—some of them monodic, some in three-part harmony—,³⁴ the volume included a historical part and a theoretical one. Hereby, chanters had at their disposal a repertory that was thought to be the same in all churches in the country; at the same time, a history of the national church music—the first one—was printed in order to be read by chanters and was spread all over the country.

Nifon's presentation follows the lecture of Melchisedek, from which he transcribes copious passages almost verbatim. The differences between the two essays are mostly of nuance: Nifon either adopts statements of Luca's thesis³⁵ or reshapes some of Melchisedek's affirmations by stressing them in a nationalist manner.³⁶

1999; Barbu-Bucur 2000b).

34 There are also two pieces for four voices in the supplement of the harmonic pieces part: the *heirmos* of the ninth ode of the Easter Canon harmonized by D.G. Kiriak, and *Funereal Hymn. My Last Wish*, composed by George Mugur on Mihai Eminescu's lyrics.

35 Nifon also borrows an opinion from G.I. Ionnescu-Gion, namely that the Romanians were ridiculing the Greeks for their nasal sound (Nifon 1902: 51; Ionnescu-Gion 1899: 539, 541).

36 As an example, Melchisedek's words "These chant books by Macarie became the norm for the Romanian church chant and were welcomed in both principalities, and it was by these books that Romanian chanters oriented themselves", are reformulated by Nifon as follows: "*The humble hieromonk Macarie, portarie* [an ecclesiastic rank, lit. gatekeeper] *at the Metropolia of*

The question of the beginnings of the Romanian chant reveals that Nifon's approach is more nationalist than Melchisedek's. Though both their discourses on the Slavonic and Greek variants and *application* of the chant to the Romanian text are quite the same, Melchisedek mainly deals with the language used in church music, while Nifon with the presence and persistence of the national character in the chant. The latter claims that this character had existed even before the seventeenth century: "Since the late ninth century, with the Slavonic language predominating in our country and Church, our Church chant had borrowed many Slavonic works; but music and language did not lose their national character, because they were cultivated in Romanian monasteries".³⁷ Consequently, the Palm Sunday Canon and the other related pieces seen by Melchisedek as Slavonic chant relics are considered by Nifon as "**pure Romanian**" chants "**from the Slavonic age**" (Nifon 1902: 46–49, 58, emphases in the original).

Nifon supports Melchisedek's opinion that church chant is rightfully called *national*, but modifies a little the argumentation: "*because from the old days, by being identified with the taste and the religious sense of the Romanians, it became the music of the homeland, by which our Church traversed the ages of old!*" (ibidem: 79, emphases in the original, cf. Melchisedek 1882: 42). Nifon presents in detail four musicians whose merit is that they "put the melodies on Romanian lyrics and accommodated them to the genre and taste of the Romanian people":

Bucharest, will remain forever a great figure in the Orthodox Romanian Church; because his chant books made history in Romanian countries, and became the norm for the pure Romanian church chant" (Melchisedek 1882: 31, Nifon 1902: 59, emphases in the original).

³⁷ A strong interpretation of the quotation would be that Romanian church music already had a national character in the ninth century and this was uninterruptedly kept in the chant in Romanian monasteries in spite of their taking over Slavonic compositions. The weak interpretation is that Nifon doesn't attribute such a venerable age to the national character but merely affirms its *existence* sometime in the age of Slavonism (an age that started in the late ninth century), before the issuing of books in the Romanian language.

The passage quoted above is similar to a passage by Alexandru Luca. The major difference between them is that Luca talks about the character of the chant systematised by St. John of Damascus, while Nifon about the Romanian national character (Luca 1898: 68–69).

Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann, Ștefanache Popescu and Theodor Georgescu.³⁸ Nifon eulogises the four musicians not only for adapting the chants to the Romanian language and taste, but also for “cleansing the church chants of all the foreign traits they had had”. Therefore, the author considers the adaptation to the Romanian language, the accommodation to the taste of the people, and the elimination of foreign elements as three independent actions, happily accomplished together by each of the four chanters (ibidem: 56, 58, 64, 69, 76).³⁹

Nifon mentions a few aesthetic and stylistic traits of the pieces of the four chanters, but unlike Petrescu and Melchisedek, he does not evaluate these traits from a nationalist point of view. In turn, he mentions some chants by Macarie, accommodated to the genre and taste of the Romanian people: the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode sung instead of *Axion estin* (particularly the one for Easter), the Palm Sunday Canon, the *katavasies* and *megalynergia* of the ninth ode for the Presentation of the Lord (ibidem: 58, 65, 69–70, 74).

Nifon’s approach to harmonic church music is not different from Melchisedek’s. The existence of harmonic choirs is a desideratum in churches, but they could not completely replace Byzantine chant not only for practical (including financial) reasons, but also because the latter has to be kept, like any other national product. Nifon also deplores the lack of harmonic choir pieces adapted to the Romanian taste. For the creation of a “[harmonic] *choral repertory that is original, ours, truly religious, appropriate to the holy edifice, and entirely different from the profane choral music and the choral music of other confessions*” (ibidem: 80, emphases in the original), Nifon proposes two compositional solutions. The first one is the harmonisation of *psaltic* chants “as much as the Occidental music permits this, because it is not possible to transpose it [in a harmonic piece]

38 The mention of the last two could be partially explained by the fact that the author was a student of both (ibidem: 74, footnote).

39 In a footnote mentioning that the *Anastasimatarion* of Macarie “is almost identical” with the one edited by Petros Efesios, Nifon discusses the adaptation to the language only: “[he] put Romanian words instead of the Greek ones and only where the text of the words did not fit, did he add his own musical signs” (ibidem: 54, footnote).

identically and without change”, by following the model of the *anti-axion* for Easter harmonised by D.G. Kiriac. The second solution is the composition of pieces inspired by *psaltic* music “keeping at least *the tonality, rhythm and the melodic forms* of this music” (ibidem: 78–81, emphases in the original).

Niculae M. Popescu

A Bachelor of Letters and Theology and Doctor of History, father Niculae Popescu (1881–1963) was the author of a remarkable graduate thesis and of a few papers on church music, mainly on Macarie the Hieromonk. His commentaries show that he knew Byzantine chant well. He was also a member of the famous choir of the Carmen Choral Society (a choir of lay and church music conducted by D.G. Kiriac) and president of this society for two decades (Ionescu 2003: 327–328).

Popescu is a supporter of the *psaltic* chant, about which he says that “it is an important part of our cultural history and has become a national patrimony” (Popescu 1908: 1). He eulogises the patriotic activity of Macarie, counting him “among the awakeners of our nation [Rom.: *neam*, the equivalent of the Greek γένος]” (ibidem: 73–75), and attributes a major significance to the role that Macarie played in the *nationalisation* of the church music. Popescu’s approach differs from the previous ones that stressed the adaptation to the Romanian taste. For him, *nationalisation* means merely the abolishment of the Greek language, that is, “the introduction of music in the Church without sacrificing either the melody accepted by the Church or the Romanian language”. Keeping the melody as close as possible to the original Greek variant composed under divine inspiration is a virtue of the adaptation: “the greatest merit of the ‘preparator’ is that he stayed as close as he could to the original”. Adaptation appears therefore as a rather technical action: the one who fulfils it does not operate modifications for aesthetic reasons (according to a presumed Romanian *taste* or *genius*) but for philological ones, bearing in mind “the nature of our language”, that is the syntax of sentences, the length of words and the stressing of syllables (ibidem: 43–44, 50, 56, 58, 62, idem 1919: 146, idem 1936: 547–548).

The preservation of the Greek chant does not contradict the composition of

new pieces. Popescu thinks that some of Macarie's adaptations and original compositions surpass their Greek correspondents: the *apolytikion* of Resurrection in the third mode, the *automelon De frumsețea fecioriei tale* (Τὴν ωραιότητα)⁴⁰, the first and the fourth *eothina*, the *apolytikia* of the Holy Week and the *heirmoi* chanted instead of *Axion estin* for Great Feasts, especially the one for Easter (idem 1908: 50, 53–54, 56, 73).

The author does not talk about Greek or Romanian peculiarities because he is concerned mainly with the revealed character of the chant, despite attributing ethnic qualifiers to a few melodies. According to Popescu, the Palm Sunday Canon has a Slavic melody; the archimandrite Visarion used “pure Russian compositions” in an age when “Russian music [...] was suffering the strong influence of Italian music”: Cart[u] and Musicescu imitated “the Russian music with its faults”: in the *Liturgy* of the former “you feel everywhere melodic fragments of pure Cossack dance”, while the latter attained “the culmination of Russian imitation” (ibidem: 1–2, 64, idem 1919: 148).

Beside the religious character, but in a secondary position, the ethnic origin is another criterion of assessment for harmonic pieces. Popescu reckons Cuza's attempt to replace the monody with harmonic choirs as “a big mistake, particularly because the harmonic music he intended to introduce was of Slavic Russian origin and without any connection with our old music”. In support of his ideas, he quotes freely a statement of George Enescu that “such a distinguished and national music treasure as our old church music deserves all the attention [...] and by studying it in the light of the new harmonic means, we may have the most beautiful church music in the Christian Orient” (ibidem: 147–148).

PART 2: THE INTERWAR PERIOD⁴¹

40 The Greek titles of the chants are given in parentheses when the English variant is not often used in musicological literature.

41 This section was published in a slightly different form, see Moisil 2010b.

After the First World War, the territories inhabited by Romanians in Austria-Hungary (Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina, Crişana, and Maramureş) and Russian Empire (the former Eastern half of Moldavia, also known as Bessarabia since the nineteenth century) were annexed to Romania. Consequently, between the wars the term *Romanian music* was understood to mean the *music of Romanians throughout Romania*; this approach had also existed before World War I, but became widespread only afterwards. As for church music, differences between the Old Kingdom—i.e. Romania before WWI—and the newly annexed territories were important and recognised as such by music historians. They viewed Romanian church music as unitary only when debating general aspects such as certain traits or its relationship with the nation. While the distinction is noteworthy, the text below will not deal with opinions on the music of the Romanians who were either Austrian or Russian subjects.

Another important trait of the period after the First World War concerns the musical education of the writers under examination. Unlike those from the previous period, these had a solid background in Western music. In addition, some of them had not attended the theological seminary school and had only a vague knowledge of Byzantine chant.

The writers in question agreed on the existence of a music that was characteristic for the Romanian people. For some of them, this was Byzantine music—in the original monodic variant or in the harmonised one—which had been rooted for centuries in the soul of the people. Others opined that in Romanian church music, one had to see the particular fingerprint of the ethnic group to which it belonged, a specific feeling of the nation (Rom.: *neam*). The opinions of the latter disagreed about the historic moment when this fingerprint became visible: whether this had happened before the nineteenth century, when Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann repressed it, or on the contrary, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, because of the nationalist sentiments of the same Macarie and Pann.

The relationship between nation, homeland, people and Romanian church music (sometimes called *national* church music) was asserted by all the authors.

Church music was an expression of the Homeland; it strengthened the national sense; it was a national art in the service of the Homeland and the People; it contributed to the development of national culture. The national spirit, genius, feeling or instinct, the necessity of a uniform music nationwide, and the nationalisation of church music were still mentioned in the interwar period. Nevertheless, national identity was not the most important issue in the debates on church music; the same as before the war, this was subordinated to religious identity, and sometimes also to a larger cultural identity, the Byzantine one.

The style of the interwar authors was more restrained than that of their predecessors, a sign that the Romanians had become more confident in their nation's strength and stability, and no longer needed to defend themselves through a fervent discourse. Their tone became ebullient again in 1940, when the nationalist Right took the political power; approximately at the same time, race was invoked as a determinant of a people's music.

A few notable changes appeared in the historiography of church music too. Musicologists now took into account the chant in the first Christian centuries—prior to the influence of Constantinople—considered by some to have been of Thraco-Geto-Dacian essence. The “standard” chant history deviated from that of bishop Melchisedek and comprised four periods: Dacian, Slavic, Greek-Oriental and Romanian. The chants adapted into Romanian were those in use in the third period (the Greek one); no comments on the adaptation of Slavonic chants were offered. Adaptation was mainly seen as a two-phase process: first, the introduction of the Romanian language into the liturgy, and next, the transformation of church music according to the national spirit. Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann were almost always associated with the second phase. Only Ion Popescu-Pasărea distinguished clearly between the two by putting Pann above Macarie for the first time: the latter had *Romanianised* chant (in the first phase), while the former had *nationalised* it (in the second phase).

The writings under investigation deal with the connection between church music and Romanian folklore more often than those in the preceding period. (This is hardly surprising, as the interest in peasant culture had increased in the debates

of those days. Orthodoxy and the Romanian village were closely related, according to Orthodoxy and *trăirism* (lit.: living-ism), two philosophic currents that were very popular at the time, when the National Peasant Party was one of the two major political parties in Romania.) During this period, writers with knowledge of folk music stated that peasant music had certainly influenced church music. Little by little, Pann came to be credited as the person who had introduced Romanian folk elements in church chant.

As before, the views on the relationship between Greek and Romanian church music differed from author to author. Some authors considered that Greek and Romanian church music were almost the same, while others thought that they were antagonistic; for the latter, eliminating the foreign Oriental elements was part of the adaptation. There were also authors who saw chromaticism as an Oriental influence, but did not think that this constituted a reason for the elimination of the chromatic elements.

The European features, primarily the Russian ones, but also the German and Italian ones, were unanimously condemned. Multivocal music was a common desideratum, as long as the harmonised melody retained the traditional chant and Romanian character. Kiriak was the most widely eulogised composer, as his polyphonic style was set as an example or even analysed theoretically and displayed as a style of arrangement that conformed to Romanian musical notions, in contrast with the harmonic styles. Other composers were placed in less fixed positions: depending on the author, Musicescu, Podoleanu and others were either lauded for having replaced Russian music or criticised for having been unable to stay clear of it.

From among the chanters, Macarie and Anton Pann were the most appreciated for their Romanian feeling, their nationalism and their entire activity promoting the Romanian language in church music and adapting this music to the Romanian spirit. At some distance behind the two, Dimitrie Suceveanu, Ștefanache Popescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea also figured in the gallery of the consecrated heroes of Romanian church music.

Mihail Gr. Poslușnicu

Published in 1928, *Istoria muziceii la români* (“The History of Music among the Romanians”) was the first large-scale work of its kind: over six hundred pages in which the author offered information about art music, church music, military music and traditional music on the entire territory of the newly-formed state. The author (1871–1936) had graduated from the Conservatory of Jassy, taught music in high schools in several cities, and acted as church choir director in Botoșani (Ionescu 2003: 307).

Poslușnicu’s book is very rich in information, although much of it is transcribed uncritically or without any indication of its source. The author’s idea of church music is not essentially different from that of his predecessors. However, unlike them, Poslușnicu does not appear to be familiar with Byzantine music: the commentaries relating to it do not belong to him, but are taken over from other sources.

For Poslușnicu, music is a form of manifestation of ethnicity. He discusses in several places the relationship between religious music, the age-old Christian faith and nation. The chanters and supporters of church music had worked “on the altar of our ancestors’ faith” and “for the national cause”. Church and music strengthen the national feeling and act even upon “that multitude [of people] that is not conscious of the value of a culture, of the value of a national consciousness”, while the existence of religious choirs is seen as very important for “the cultural progress of the nation, for maintaining and strengthening the national religious feeling” (Poslușnicu 1928: 3, 60, 68–69, 106, 191–192).

Throughout the book, the author habitually uses the term *national* in order to denote traditional lay music (see for example, *ibidem*: 95, 98, 210, 358). Nevertheless, the term is also used in passages where it refers to church music, indicating that Poslușnicu shares the antebellum approach regarding the national character of church music (*ibidem*: 68–69, 107).

According to Poslușnicu, the history of church music among the Romanians began with their conversion to Christianity in the second century, when the first school of church chant had also appeared. From the tenth and the eleventh

centuries onward, but more so during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, the chant was influenced by the Slaves, and after the fall of Constantinople, by Greek music, which gradually replaced the Slavonic one. “The nationalisation” of church chant—a phrase coined by Poslușnicu—began in the sixteenth century and was at first restricted to the translation of the text, the Greek melody being sung to Romanian words.⁴² (Unlike bishop Melchisedek and his followers, Poslușnicu did not take into consideration the adaptation of Slavonic chant.) The next step was the definitive systematisation of church music in the national spirit by Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann (*ibidem*: 11, 15, 17–18).

In his presentation of the musical reform in the Principalities on the Danube, Poslușnicu underscores the Romanian feeling of the two cantors and their use of a music that has a notation and a “scientific system”. In the absence of written transmission, in time the chant “had lost its originality”—meaning its Romanian originality—even where music schools had existed (*ibidem*: 17–18).

The commentaries and quotes he provides support the author’s view on the Romanian feeling of Macarie and Pann. He believes that only a Romanian (“a Romanian sensibility”) could have been capable of “saving us from the debauchment that had been so carelessly imported by the spirit of foreign imitation”, a reference to the worldly songs that had infiltrated the music of the church. Macarie could not stand “the foreign melody, especially the Greek one from the Patriarchy”; “what he studied in music could not adhere to his Romanian soul”. Anton Pann had allegedly enrolled at the College of St. Sava,⁴³ “where he assimilated the Romanian way of thinking and feeling from Gh. Lazăr and Ioan Eliade Rădulescu” (*ibidem*: 28–29, 34, 37).

⁴² Poslușnicu committed an error when establishing the beginning of the translation process. He interpreted the year 7222 from the creation of the world, mentioned in the manuscript of Filothei the Hieromonk, as 1539, instead of 1713. Pages 12–13 contain several mentions of the ruler, the metropolitan and Filothei that contradict the year proposed by Poslușnicu on page 11. For the date of Filothei’s manuscript, see Barbu-Bucur 1981: 55–56.

⁴³ The information that Anton Pann had attended the Romanian language course taught by Lazăr or his successor Heliade Rădulescu is also given by other authors (including Nifon Ploșteanul), but seems to be based on conjecture rather than sources. See also Cornea 1964: 9–10.

Poslușnicu retains Nifon's opinions concerning Macarie's chants, namely the elimination of foreign influences and the adaptation of the melody to the national spirit (Poslușnicu uses the term *spirit* instead of the older terms *genre*, used by Nifon, and *genius*, used by Melchisedek). Pann is described as "one of the most important and broadest regenerators of church music", the creator of a style that "became so widely used that today, the melodic notions of any chanter would only be influenced by Anton Pann's old melodies". Ștefanache Popescu is considered to have been "a faithful follower of A. Pann and Macarie", Theodor Georgescu is characterized by quoting bishop Nifon's laudatory remarks, and Dimitrie Suceveanu is considered "the best chanter and composer in Moldavia", author of the majority of the chants "in use today in Moldavian churches and even in churches in Wallachia" (ibidem: 34–35, 37, 48, 50–51, 87–88).

Poslușnicu makes a similar presentation of the history of church harmonic music. The repertory of the first choirs in Bucharest—which according to Poslușnicu appeared around the 1840s—was Russian, both in language (Slavonic) and melody.⁴⁴ The same situation was later found in other cities, for example in Roman, located in Moldavia. The replacement of Slavonic by the Romanian language in 1863 was the first step. To achieve the second step, the replacement of the Russian music by the Romanian one, "composers such as A. Flechtenmacher, I. Cart, Ed. Wachmann, G. Brătianu, Mugur, Podoleanu, Bunesu, etc., had to struggle for a long time" (ibidem: 16, 186, 209, 217, 290, 303).

Poslușnicu demonstrates the importance of the presence of the Romanian musical character in the harmonic chants. Thus, Podoleanu wished to remove the Russian character and "tried to get as close as possible to the musical character that is specific to our church". Later, as a reaction of the fact that many Romanian compositions "had left behind by a long way the ethnic character of our country,

44 More to the point, Poslușnicu attributes the introduction of the Russian repertory to archimandrite Visarion. He considers Visarion to have been the third conductor of a harmonic choir, after Popa Rusu and Grigore Manciu, about whom he offers no data regarding either the music or the language of the pieces they interpreted (Poslușnicu 1928: 186). In fact, Popa Rusu and Visarion were one and the same person (Breazul 1970c: 81–84).

the Orthodox character”, Kiriac, like Musicescu, “tried and fully succeeded to adapt to our church music a harmonisation that was suitable to its religious character and spirit” (ibidem: 303, 190). The text is not sufficiently clear to allow us to draw the conclusion, based on this passage alone, that Poslușnicu considered the Orthodox spirit to be a feature of the national character. Nevertheless, if we read the passage while keeping in mind the author’s view on the close connections between the Romanian nation, the Orthodox faith and the church music, and we correlate it with the opinion that only a Romanian sensibility could eliminate the lay spirit from the chant of the early 1800s, we may conclude that for Poslușnicu the national musical character was to some extent overlapping with the Orthodox faith. This view was probably indebted to the philosophy of the *gândirist* current (taking its name from newspaper *Gândirea*, i.e. The Thinking), which flourished after the First World War (Hitchins 1994: 300–303).

Constantin Brăiloiu

Well-known for his activity as an ethnomusicologist,⁴⁵ Constantin Brăiloiu (1893–1958) was also interested, though to a lesser extent, in church music: he was director and professor of the Academy of Religious Music in Bucharest, contributed to the posthumous edition of the *Psaltic Liturgy* by D.G. Kiriac, and conducted religious pieces by Romanian composers in concert (Buzera 1994; Comișel 1994: 29; Vasile 1997b: 250). His opinions on church music were voiced in several newspaper articles and radio conferences from the period 1931–1942, partially or entirely included in volume 6 of his *Opere* (“Works”), edited by Emilia Comișel.⁴⁶

In these articles, Brăiloiu did not make a historical presentation of the

45 Founder and director of the Folklore Archive of the Society of Romanian Composers (1928–1943), Constantin Brăiloiu collected and published a significant number of traditional pieces, and he published important theoretical works on rhythm (the *syllabic giusto*, *aksak* and children’s rhythm), the pentatonic system and the methodology of field work. His activity had a decisive influence on the development of this discipline in Romania and a considerable influence on that in France and Switzerland (Rădulescu 2009, Bouët 2009: 62–68).

46 On these conferences, see also Vasile 1994.

subject, but only touched on certain aspects that were relevant to his position on the various problems of Romanian church music in his time.

Brăiloiu's view was similar to the one of Western researchers at the time: Oriental church music—taken by the Romanian from the Greek—had reached perfection during Byzantium, became petrified in the forms of that period and slowly declined.⁴⁷ After the fall of Constantinople, it suffered Turkish and Arabic influences, among which the use of Asian scales, which were accepted “officially” by the reform of Chrysanthos, introduced into Romanian church music by Macarie and Anton Pann. Despite the foreign influences, the Romanian and Greek Church music continued to be healthy until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the decline became apparent. Brăiloiu was pleading for the restoration of this music and for putting together a repertory “as purely Romanian and as purely Byzantine as can be”. Remarkably, the musicologist did not show bias for the Romanian over the Byzantine repertory. He suggested not only a uniform repertory for the entire country, but also, as a next step, “the unification of the Orthodox repertory, taking the current Greek repertory as its basis” (Brăiloiu 1998a: 232–233; idem 1998b: 237–238; idem 1998c: 240).

The presence of the Romanian character in church music was ascribed to the process of adaptation: “Through a secular adaptation, the Romanian religious chant, although imported, expresses, through its healthy parts, the character of the Romanian people to a high degree” (idem 1998a: 233). Brăiloiu believed that the Romanian character was manifested in church music, as in other arts, “through the powerful assimilation and transformation of the borrowed elements”. The fact that the national character was reflected in church music caused the author to declare that this music was an expression of the Homeland (idem 1998c: 241).

Brăiloiu deplored the foreign and modern style in the multivocal church music of his time and believed that only a few compositions—the only one mentioned being *Îngerul a strigat* (*Ο άγγελος εβόα*) by Kiriak, a piece that “laid

⁴⁷ Brăiloiu mentioned the names of Tillyard, Gastoué and Wellesz and quoted the opinions—which were older, but still accepted by Western musicologists at the time—of Bourgault-Ducoudray (Brăiloiu 1998b: 238; idem 1998c: 240; idem 1998d: 321).

the ground for a true Palestrinian style in Romanian music”—safeguarded the traditional melodic character (idem 1998a: 233; idem 1998b: 237; idem 1998c: 241).

George Onciul

George Onciul (1904–1981) was a professor of music history and encyclopaedia, of choir music and conducting at the Conservatory in Cernăuți (in Bukovina, which became a part of Romania after WWI), and the founder of the first department of musicology in Romania. Between 1929 and 1933, he published a history of music in two volumes, an important but infrequently cited work during the communist era, probably because the author had immigrated to Germany (V. Cosma 2004: 185–188).

Onciul makes a clear and detailed exposition of his opinions regarding the problem of the national character in art music, the music of those who have a superior culture.⁴⁸ Although this culture is international—“the result of the contributions of all nations to universal progress”—within the psyche of every composer a seed is manifest that is common “to both the intellectual and the common man from whom the former has emerged, to the peasant and the academician”; this seed makes him turn “naturally” to folklore and exploit it, especially during periods when nations flourish. Onciul’s view is nevertheless not that of a primordialist nationalist (see *Introduction, The primordialist paradigm*): there are Romanian composers whose music lacks any national colour, just as there are non-Romanian composers who “cultivate a clearly Romanian type of music” (Onciul 1933: 194–195, 238–239).

Romanian melodies contain several layers that Onciul gradually reveals: under the Oriental stratum, there is the Slavic stratum, which in turn sits on top of a musical layer of unclear origin (Dacian, Roman or Daco-Roman) that resembles the Gregorian chant (ibidem: 230–232).

According to Onciul, the church music of Byzantium was art music of Hellenic origin, but overwhelmed in time by Oriental influences. Due to its

48 Unlike the music of the people, which is “spontaneous, instinctual, [...] created unconsciously”, art music implies reasoning (Onciul 1933: 225–226).

Oriental character, which was foreign to the Romanian people, church music could not be considered Romanian music until close to the modern period (“the newer times”), when the musical interaction between church and people started to become significant. (Nonetheless, Onciul talks about a Romanian church music that is “specifically [Romanian], almost self-determined, national [in character]”, in contrast with the Byzantine music, which can be identified as such even in the earliest Romanian musical documents.) “The feeling of the chant” became more Romanian when the national language was introduced, and eminently so when after the arrival of Anton Pann, whom Onciul compares with pope Gregory the Great and regards as the inaugurator of the Middle Ages in Romanian music. Pann was the composer who established the close connection between church music and folk song and thus founded a school of musical composition that was still active at the time when Onciul was writing. The members of this school translated both the texts and the music of the church and brought forth the folk music by “attempting to notate and sometimes to arrange it, as did the Western scholars”. Onciul did not expand his notes on the members of this school but simply mentioned them: Macarie, Popescu-Pasărea and Kiriac (*ibidem*: 227–228, 233, 235–236).

The reawakening of the national consciousness made it possible for music to continue its natural development, arrested during the “alienating reign” of Byzantine music. For Onciul, “the ethnic origin, the temperament, the race” determine the music of a people. As a result, for the Romanian people, as for all Romance people, polyphonic music is a best fit, which explains the rapid explosion of choirs in parts. Conversely, the disappearance of the Oriental stratum has revealed the Slavic aspect underneath it in Romanian music, as evidenced in the works of Musicescu (*ibidem*: 228, 244, 254–255).

Alexandru I.D. Ștefănescu

During his short life, Alexandru Ștefănescu (1916–1933) was equally interested in history and music. He was equally well versed in Western music—having studied the violin, the piano, and composition—and in Byzantine music (I.D. Ștefănescu 1940: ix–x). His writings were collected by his father, the medieval art historian

I.D. Ștefănescu, and published posthumously.

The view expressed by Alexandru I.D. Ștefănescu in these writings was influenced by Nicolae Iorga's view on the relationship between the Romanian civilisation and Byzantium.⁴⁹ According to Ștefănescu, Byzantine music is “part of a religious and artistic unity that has deep roots in the spiritual life of the Romanian people”. It has endured—although in modern times in a weakened form—both in Romania and in the other countries that have inherited the Byzantine tradition. Ștefănescu mentions that in the previous century, Romanians had considered Byzantine chant a foreign element and adds that it is time to abandon this misconception and revive Byzantine music. Having been used for six centuries in the churches of the Principalities, this music is very important for the Romanian church from a national point of view, according to this author. He supports its revival and suggests a careful selection of pieces to establish a repertory. The pieces in this repertory could be “purely Romanian” as well as “purely Byzantine Greek, with their text translated into Romanian” or “by Greek authors but composed directly into Romanian” (A.I.D. Ștefănescu 1940b: 7, 10, 30–31; idem 1940c: 36–39).

Ștefănescu gives differentiated treatment to the ethnic factors in church music. Byzantine music, he explains, comes from the ancient music of the Greek and has been influenced by Oriental music, especially from Persia and Turkey, long before the fall of Constantinople. None of these components causes the author to express any reserve about the value of Byzantine music. In contrast, other musical influences are regarded unfavourably: the Italian, the German, or the Russian ones. The author recommends dropping from the current repertory both the music that shows Western influences (such as the replacement of the supple rhythm of Byzantine music, based on prosody, with the binary rhythm, as in the works of Ștefanache Popescu) and the music influenced by Russian patterns (idem 1940b: 7–8, 10, 12; idem 1940a: 73, footnote 36; idem 1940c: 37, 39).

49 Although Iorga's work, *Byzance après Byzance*, was published two years after Ștefănescu's death, Iorga's views on the connection between the Romanian and the Byzantine society had been formulated in a series of previous articles (cf. Căndea 1972: 255–260).

The explanation of this apparent inconsistency must be sought beyond the ethnic categories. The Oriental influences are regarded as essentially congruous with the rhythmic and modal systems of traditional music, even though they caused the scales to become “almost exclusively” chromatic.⁵⁰ Western music (including here Russian music) is unsuitable for the Orthodox liturgy because it is a secular music, created for the theatre or the concert hall. Consequently, the opposition between Byzantine music and Western music is based on a liturgical criterion and not an ethnic one (idem 1940b: 7–8, 31, idem 1940c: 36–37, 39).

However, Alexandru Ștefănescu is not indifferent to the national problem. He makes the distinction between Greek and Romanian culture in Bucharest in the first half of the nineteenth century, appreciates Macarie’s patriotism, his role in re-awakening Romanian culture and his struggle to impose “an artistic and national ideal”, and he mentions that Anton Pann used folk tunes as a source of inspiration (idem 1940b: 11–12, 19, 25; idem 1940a: 43).

Ștefănescu gives a broad outline of the history of Romanian church music that resembles that suggested by Brăiloiu. Byzantine chant was maintained in the Romanian Principalities, especially in monasteries, where Greek monks were plentiful. The first half of the nineteenth century was an epoch of flourishing and the period when Romanian church music became established. Macarie was “perhaps the most accomplished” of those who put Greek music into Romanian words, and Pann “the worthy continuator of Hieromonk Macarie’s work”. After Pann’s death “the flourishing era of Byzantine music” came to an end, its tradition faded, and foreign elements (the binary metre and the singing in two or three parts) began to appear (idem 1940b: 10–12, 19, 22, 25–26; idem 1940c: 38–39; idem 1940a: 69–70).

Harmonic music is criticised by the young author if it hailed from either the

50 Ștefănescu’s opinion is nevertheless unfavourable when he states that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greek chant “was virtually indistinguishable from the Turkish *manele*”. He also pleads for the recovery of the oldest versions, containing the fewest influences and changes. In a different place, he mentions that: “However removed this chant may be from the original Byzantine music, it still represents for us a shadow of the glorious past that must be preserved by all means” (idem 1940b: 11, footnote, 12, 30–31).

West or from Russia, since the latter had in turn suffered the influences of Italian and German music. In contrast, the harmonisations of Byzantine pieces are held in high regard (like the other authors discussed in this section, Ștefănescu has a high opinion of D.G. Kiriak's work). To illustrate this, the volume contains an appendix where an *megalynarion*⁵¹ by Anton Pann is arranged for four parts by Alexandru Ștefănescu himself (idem 1940b: 10–11; idem 1940c: 36–37).

Ion Popescu-Pasărea

Ion Popescu-Pasărea (1871–1943) was the most respected chanter in the first half of the twentieth century. A student of Ștefanache Popescu at the Theological Seminary in Bucharest, a graduate of both the Conservatory and the School of Law, professor of church music at both seminaries in Bucharest, at the Conservatory and the Academy of Religious Music, cantor and director of a mixed church choir, Popescu-Pasărea was also very active as church composer of music for one or several voices, in Byzantine or Western notation, editor of church music books and organiser of chanters' associations (Ionescu 2003: 301–307).

Between 1911 and 1941, Ion Popescu-Pasărea published a series of short articles on Romanian Byzantine music, mostly in *Cultura*, the magazine of the General Association of Church Chanters. Many of the articles consisted in speeches that Popescu-Pasărea had made at the commemorations of Macarie and Anton Pann. They are similar in content and occasionally have a pathetic tone.⁵²

51 Whenever I use the term *megalynarion* without any qualifier, it refers to *megalynarion Axion estin*.

52 For example, when presenting Hieromonk Macarie, the author underscores the difficulties he had encountered: “Macarie made this heroic effort [...] How hard was his journey to Vienna, especially without knowing the language there, without resources [...] Verily like an apostle he fought and overcame all difficulties” (Popescu-Pasărea 1937: 6). And in another speech: “the modest monk Macarie, *portar* at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Bucharest, had the heroism to take upon his feeble shoulders the first affirmation of the spirit of national revival that fired up all the patriots living in the first half of the nineteenth century. [...] [The printing of the book] was done by him in the famous city of Vienna, where he went not as we do today by train, but on foot and by cart—for days and weeks on end—although he was poor and in ill health!”

Two longer articles stand out. The former contains a short history of Byzantine music in the Romanian Principalities, was published in the official magazine of the Orthodox Church and republished eight years later in *Muzica românească de azi* (“Romanian Music Today”), probably the most important book on music history in the interwar period (Popescu Pasărea 1931; idem 1939a). The latter is the text of a lecture held in 1940 and published in instalments as a reaction to the suggestions of the reverend priest Ioan D. Petrescu (Visarion) on abandoning the chromatic and enharmonic modes and reducing the ornamentation in church music (idem 1940b; idem 1940c; idem 1941b).

To a great extent, Popescu-Pasărea’s ideas originate in the lecture of bishop Melchisedek: the national character of church music (idem 1911d; idem 1937: 4); the necessity of having the same repertoire all over the country (idem 1911d; 1928a); the Byzantine origin or Romanian chant and its transformation according to the Romanian genius (idem 1911d; 1931: 207; 1941b); its revival under the influence of the French Revolution (idem 1930a: 13, 15; idem 1931: 208); the role played by chanters in the nationalist movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when according to him all the institutions were Greek or Graecophile (idem 1940a: 27).

For Popescu-Pasărea, Romanian church music is the same as *psaltic* music: “the music of our church was and is *the music of the Oriental Orthodox Church*” (idem 1911b: 49); “this *psaltic* music is pre-eminently and must always remain our traditional, Christian and Romanian music” (idem, in Predescu 1939: 72). As before for Niculae M. Popescu, it “constitutes our *religious and national patrimony*” (Popescu Pasărea 1932: 7, emphases in the original).

Popescu-Pasărea mentions on several occasions the relationship between chant (whether monodic or harmonised) and the Romanian nation. In his opinion, Cuza’s attempt to impose harmonic choirs in churches failed, among other reasons,

(idem 1940d: 10). The picture sketched by Popescu-Pasărea contradicts the determined and lively character revealed by his correspondence and his description by Constantin Erbiceanu: “Macarie was a handsome man, well-built, with a broad forehead, lively eyes and a gentle and pleasant character” (Moisescu 1985a: 117–172; Erbiceanu 1908: 43).

because the *psaltic* chant had strong roots in the Romanian soul. Popescu-Pasărea contradicts the opinions regarding the foreign or barbarous character of *psaltic* music and invokes the authority of Bourgault-Ducoudray, who had stated in 1877 that “Oriental church music could serve as a departing point in the creation of an original musical language, characteristic for the nations in the East” (Popescu Pasărea 1931: 210). In other places, he mentions that Macarie’s work contributed to the “unification of the Romanian soul, which was the precursor of the political unification that came later”, (idem 1937: 7) and that the activity of Macarie, Pann and Suceveanu “constituted a precious treasure of the Church and the Nation (Rom: *Neam*)” (idem 1940d: 13). Speaking about harmonic church music, Popescu-Pasărea states that in it “the artistic and pious soul of the Nation (Rom: *Neam*) must be reflected” (idem 1932: 8).

Popescu-Pasărea’s discourse is even more nationalistic in a speech made in January 1941, when the ultra-nationalist party of The Iron Guard was in power.⁵³ He makes the connection between the problems of the present and the notion of “integral nationalism” promoted by the Iron Guard, the apparition of the principle of nationality (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) and the major role played by the Church—and especially by Macarie and Pann, the two being commemorated—in promoting the national idea. Popescu-Pasărea states that nationalism was the main motivation of the two chanters and minimizes the religious and artistic motivations: “Macarie the Hieromonk wants the church singer to be not an artist of the chant, not a pious servant of the church, but *a true patriot, a lover of his Nation (Rom: Neam) and useful to his Homeland!* For him, the Homeland is the most important preoccupation, and nationalism is above art, since he does not work for art, *art for the sake of art, but for the national art* that serves the Homeland and the Nation (Rom: *Neam*).

But *Anton Pann*, the great chanter, popular poet, so versed in folklore, *with what wish and ardour* did he work for national redemption!!... More ardent than Macarie and with a more complex activity, he understood that the people were the

53 Ion Popescu-Pasărea had been a liberal politician, a former senator on behalf of the National Liberal Party (Frangulea 2004: 40, 74).

basis of the Nation (Rom: *Neam*) and the clear source of Romanian national life” (idem 1941a: 10, emphases in the original).

The fact that for Popescu-Pasărea belonging to the nation appears to be more important than belonging to the Church can be attributed to the political tension of the historical moment when the speech was made; a few years before that, the speaker might have been more reserved about making this emphatic statement. Nevertheless, it cannot be taken lightly: the statement shows that there was a change of perspective that had affected the church chanters as well, who now saw themselves as servants of the nation rather than of the Church. The ending of the speech confirms this topsy-turvy perspective in which the Church had become an instrument serving the Nation: “May God grant that church chanters [...] should become the apostles of Romanian nationalism, thus serving, through the church, the Homeland and the Nation (Rom: *Neam*)!” (ibidem: 11).

“The uniformisation [i.e. having the same repertoire all over the country] of church music” is a theme that is often broached by Popescu-Pasărea, not only after 1918 when Transylvania was adjoined to the Old Kingdom, but also before. In the first number of the magazine *Cultura*, Popescu-Pasărea enumerates the three objectives of the publication, with the first being the “cultivation and uniformisation of church music”. The author adds that the ideal would be if traditional church music became “a common church language for all Romanians, as is our daily speaking”. Three years before this, in 1908, in the preface of a volume of chants for the Divine Liturgy, Popescu-Pasărea had asserted that it was fit that some church pieces should be chanted everywhere, while others could vary “according to the individual musical genius of each composer” (idem 1911d; 1928a; Frangulea 2004: 117–118).

The history of Romanian church music follows the mainstream based on the lecture of bishop Melchisedek, with some notable differences. Popescu-Pasărea distinguishes among four major stages in this history. The first is characterised by a music that resembles the recitative parts in folk ballads, the second, by Slavonic chant, whose influences can be seen in the Palm Sunday Canon as in other pieces mentioned by Melchisedek (Popescu-Pasărea 1911c: 109), the third, by Greek

music, and the fourth, by Romanian music. Like Poslușnicu, Popescu-Pasărea neglects “the application” of Slavonic chant to the Romanian language and believes that Slavonic music was gradually replaced by the Greek. In his late writings, Popescu-Pasărea offers a theoretical explanation for the succession of these stages and for other major transformations in Romanian church music: evolution. In his opinion, evolution is determined by three factors: simplification and acceleration (the speeding up of a chant in execution), the tendency to modernisation, and the influence of folk music (idem 1931: 207–208; 1940b: 22; 1940c: 75; 1941b; 1937: 7–8).

The beginning of Romanian church music is placed in the second half of the seventeenth century, when Romanian became the official language of the church and state. Popescu-Pasărea mentions several authors of Romanian church chants, amongst whom Mihalache Moldoveanu, whose *Anastasimatarion* in his opinion “is not merely a translation, but more of an original work of Romanian church music” (idem 1931: 208; a view that was most likely not based on evidence, but on the author’s conviction that Byzantine music had been adapted to the Romanian genius).⁵⁴ Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann are “the true founders of Romanian church chanting” (ibidem): the former *Romanianised* it, i.e. set the melody on Romanian text, and the latter *nationalised* it, that is adapted it according to a specifically Romanian style (see also *infra*).⁵⁵ Next to Pann, but

54 It is difficult to believe that Popescu-Pasărea had access to the melodic lines of Mihalache’s *Anastasimatarion*, written in the old notation (several copies in the Old Method notation have been preserved and only one fragmentary manuscript in the Chrysanthine notation, ms. LRA 3810 (Library of the Romanian Academy), in which the author, however, is not mentioned). Popescu-Pasărea’s statement could nevertheless be justified by the presence in the *Anastasimatarion* of some chants that are not found in Greek sources. For the contents of the *Anastasimatarion*, see Barbu-Bucur 2000a: 269–273. For the adaptation of Petros Peloponnisios’ *Anastasimatarion* by Mihalache, see Moisil 2006: 153–155, 161, 164, 166. For the identification of the chants in ms. LRA 3810 as belonging to Mihalache, see Moisil 2009: 71–73.

55 In the above-mentioned nationalistic speech, Popescu-Pasărea departs from the strict association he had preached before (Macarie—Romanianisation, Pann—nationalisation), and states that the former “preached the *nationalisation* of church chanting” (Popescu-Pasărea

with less important roles, some of his contemporaries are also mentioned who would have acted for the nationalisation of church chanting: Chiosea, Unghiurliu, Nănescu and Nicolae Filimon⁵⁶ (idem 1930b: 4; idem 1937: 4; idem 1940d: 10; 1940a: 27; cf. Predescu 1939: 75).

Although a partisan of Byzantine music, Popescu-Pasărea is less of a “purist” than might be expected. His opinions on the relationship between Byzantine music and other types of music are carefully qualified. He denounces the Western music that chanters were forced to learn during the time of Cuza and that was not appreciated by the people (ibidem: 72), but he practices and even recommends the harmonisation of traditional chants “to make them correspond to the requirements of our time and the progress of modern music” (Popescu-Pasărea, quoted in Frangulea 2004: 121, 277). In a polemic on the topic of Asian secular influences (Arabian, Persian, Turkish etc.) in church music, Popescu-Pasărea admits the presence of foreign elements, which he explains as a natural result of the universal law of progress (Popescu-Pasărea 1940b: 21–22; idem 1940d: 12).

By dint of the same law of progress, church chanting was influenced by the popular-national music and vice-versa, with a slow and natural evolution towards the national-Romanian musical genius (that is, of secular traditional music). This evolution cannot be stopped, because it is independent of people’s will, but it is nevertheless limited, since it “maintains the original *psaltic* basis, from which it does not depart and on which it weaves as on a warp the Romanian musical genius”. Popescu-Pasărea claims that this natural evolution, which nonetheless must be controlled, in order to make sure that music does not stray too far from the

1941a: 10, emphases in the original).

56 The five cantors are mentioned together in a letter by Ion Ghica written in 1880. With the exception of Filimon—who was younger and became a part of the group later—these were, according to Ghica, the best church chanters as well as secular singers performing in outdoor pubs in Bucharest of their time, which was the first half of the nineteenth century. All had been educated in Romanian schools (Ghica 1976: 50–53). Popescu-Pasărea probably places them next to Pann by virtue of their common actions of nationalisation of church music; the assertion is made on the occasion of a speech given at the commemoration of Filimon (later published in *Cultura*, Popescu-Pasărea 1940a), during the period of ascension of the political far right.

original and that evolution does not become reform, is what allows, in time, the creation of a specifically Romanian church music. The same evolution accounts for the replacement of certain chants that do not conform to the Romanian genius—using modes that are unknown to folk music, such as mode 2—with chants that suit “the national Romanian genius”, especially those written “in the national melody of the first plagal mode” (idem 1941b, 1930b: 6–8).

Amongst “the apostles of church music” Popescu-Pasărea ranges in 1913 Macarie, Pann, Suceveanu, Ștefanache Popescu, Neagu Ionescu and Oprea Demetrescu. Fifteen years later, the first four and Pană Brăneanu are mentioned apart in a list of 12 chanters (from which Demetrescu is missing), in the speech given at the opening of the Academy of Religious Music. In 1937, the list names Macarie, Pann and “their worthy descendants: Ștefanache [Popescu], Suceveanu, [Nicolae] Barcan, Zmeu [probably the father, Manolache, cf. idem 1928b: 6; Frangulea 2004: 236], Neagu Ionescu” (Popescu-Pasărea 1913: 259–260, idem 1928b: 6, idem 1937: 4).

Popescu-Pasărea considers Macarie the Hieromonk “the father of Romanian church music” (idem 1928b: 6) and—as mentioned above—the one who Romanianised church music by transposing faithfully into Romanian “the official chants of the Patriarchy in Constantinople” (idem 1930b: 5), printing them—which was his main contribution—and distributing them. In the portraits of Macarie sketched on different occasions, Popescu-Pasărea introduces him as a true Romanian, regarding him to be—as did Ioanne Dem. Petrescu—“of peasant stock” and emphasising the importance of his actions for the Romanian nation and the difficulties he had to overcome. “He, the humble Hieromonk Macarie, will remain the legendary apostle of ardent patriotism, who supported, re-awakened our people and gave it the possibility to recover like the Phoenix out of her own ashes” (idem 1937: 8). Among Macarie’s reference pieces, Popescu-Pasărea mentions the *heirmos* of the ninth ode for the Resurrection, considered unequalled and sublime (idem 1930a: 13–15; idem 1931: 209; idem 1937: 4–8; idem 1940d: 10).

Unlike Macarie, who adapted faithfully the Greek originals, Pann “took the open road of the people, to whom he listened, copied and followed in all of his

literary and artistic products” (idem 1930a: 13–14). Pann’s enterprise has two aspects. The former is called *modelling* (Rom.: *prelucrare*) and refers to a relatively free adaptation of the chants: “he rounded, polished, simplified and accommodated the chant to the spoken [or sung, Rom.: *zicerile*], idiomatic Romanian” (idem 1930b: 6). (It cannot be determined from context if Popescu-Pasărea means the adaptation to the Romanian language, to the Romanian music, or—as I tend to think—to both; the word *zicere* means both a spoken and a sung fragment.) Ten years later, Popescu-Pasărea also adds that the simplification, the polishing and the rounding of the chants are adaptations not only to the Romanian spirit, but also to “the imperatives of his time” (idem 1940c: 76).

The second aspect of Pann’s contribution, “his chief work” (idem 1930b: 6), is the *nationalisation*. Popescu-Pasărea uses the term in two ways. In a broad sense, nationalisation is applied to the entire church music and is defined as Pann’s identification, in his chants, with the national spirit of the times. In other words, the nationalisation is the transformation of the chant by relating it to the melodies of folk music, but also—as far as we understand the author’s meaning—to the temperament, the language and the customs of the people, in short to the Romanian national spirit. In a narrow sense, nationalisation still refers to the adaptation to the Romanian national spirit, but only of the Greek chants, and is done in practice by shortening “the lengthening beyond measure” in certain *papadic* and *sticheraric* chants, by cleansing the external figures resembling the Asian ones and fitting them to “the nearest church melody”, in the manner and style “of the old Wallachian (Rom.: *Munteni*) chanters, but mostly of the Homeland”, as indicated by Popescu-Pasărea quoting Anton Pann (ibidem: 6–8).⁵⁷

In his own compositions, Pann’s connection with folk tunes and “the musical genius of the Romanian people” is even more clearly marked. Most of his

57 This passage from Pann had been quoted previously, starting with Nifon (usually with small omissions or word changes, an accepted practice at the time), and included the well-known statement that “church music ha[d] long ago achieved its national character” (Pann 1845: xxxviii). Nonetheless Popescu-Pasărea gives added strength to the quote; he uses it as supporting evidence for his conception regarding the nationalisation of church music by Pann.

works are composed “in the melody of the Romanian *doină*” (ibidem: 7; idem 1930a: 14)—where the *doină* is the symbol of Romanian music, as seen in the previous chapter (cf. idem 1928b: 6, “Anton Pann [...] the church music composer in the fashion of the homeland”; idem 1941b: 7, the *doină*, “this song of the Romanian people by election”)—, that is, in a minor mode with a lowered sixth degree and sometimes with a leading-tone (mode 1 plagal *atzem*).⁵⁸ Popescu-Pasărea does not balk from showing that the leading-tone gives a modern character to the mode; for him, modernity does not contradict the Romanian spirit, since this is not immutable but open to historical influences. In other works, the relationship with the *doină* is less poignant: Pann used the *doină* as a direct source of inspiration “and embroidered on its warp the most beautiful church chants, veritable pearls of Romanian church music”, while using another modal scale. These pieces, either composed on the melody of the *doină* or inspired by it, are those that Popescu-Pasărea appreciates the most and mentions most frequently: *Leitourgika*, doxologies *atzem* and *hisar* (*spathy*), *megalynergia*, the Creed and *Our Father*. Concomitantly, Popescu-Pasărea notes that these became popular throughout Romania, “as an expression of Romanian musical genius, with its entire sentimentality and extrovert disposition” (idem 1930b: 7–8; 1930a: 15; 1931: 209; 1941a: 10; 1941b: 7).

“The founder of church music in Moldavia” (idem 1912), Dimitrie Suceveanu had a leading role among other Romanian chanters according to Popescu-Pasărea, although he came at a certain distance behind Pann and Macarie (for instance, in his short history of Byzantine music among the Romanian—idem 1931, idem 1939a—Suceveanu was not even mentioned). A change of attitude takes place in 1940, when Suceveanu is listed next to Macarie and Pann in the annual commemoration that until then was done only for the last two. (In the following year, however, the formula again did not include Suceveanu, see Popescu-Pasărea 1941a.) On this occasion, Popescu-Pasărea praises the

58 This is the definition of the mode of the *doină* as formulated by Popescu-Pasărea. Actually, he envisions a harmonic minor, in which the seventh degree is not always a leading tone.

*Idiomelar*⁵⁹ by Suceveanu, calling it “the bible of our church music” and “the crowning of all works of church music printed before him”, without forgetting to mention that the book was a translation after Chourmouzios and Petros Lampadarios (idem 1940d: 12).

Popescu-Pasărea makes a few references to the composers of harmonic music, after stating that these must use *psaltic* melodies in their compositions and not depart from the authenticity of Byzantine music. He admits that there are works of undeniable value (*Leitourgika* in mode 4 plagal by Musicescu, the liturgies by Ionescu, Podoleanu, Bunescu, Anastasescu and Kiriak, whose *Îngerul a strigat* (*Ο ἄγγελος ἐβόα*) is given special mention), but he adds that their authors do not master Byzantine music, and their compositions “err to a great extent by straying incoherently from the authenticity of *psaltic* music” (for example the *megalynarion* by Bazil Anastasescu, deemed “a hybrid production”, or the *Cheroubikon* by Kiriak, “in which there is only an occasional spattering in the style of *psaltic* music”); idem 1932.

Ion Popescu-Pasărea’s opinions had a determining influence on the views of musicologists on Romanian church chant. The role played by Pann in the nationalisation of chant and the musical means he employed to achieve this end, the gradual shortening of the chants set to Romanian words, the preference for the plagal first mode and the importance of Suceveanu’s *Idiomelar* are all themes frequently encountered in post-war musicological works.

Gavril Galinescu

Between the years 1939–1941, a heated debate took place between the reverend priest Ioan D. Petrescu (Visarion) and the cantors that formed Ion Popescu-Pasărea’s group and that of the magazine *Cultura*.⁶⁰ The former, an ex-student of

59 Suceveanu’s *Idiomelar* (“Collection of *Idiomela*”) (Sucevanu 1856–1857) contains the Romanian adaptations of the *doxastika* from the Petros Lampadarios’ *Doxastarion*, of the *idiomela* and *apolytikia* from Μανουήλ 1993 (1831), along with Suceveanu’s original chants (*doxastika* for the Liti, *kathismata* a.o.).

60 About this debate, see Moisescu 1999: 32–41.

Amédée Gastoué (with whom he had studied Gregorian chant) and one of the pioneers of Byzantine paleography, proposed the return to the old Medieval church music, supposed to have been diatonic, and asserted that the music of his time was “a hybrid mixture of elements of popular song from the slums, according to the fantasy of various party-loving chanters” (Ioan D. Petrescu quoted in Predescu 1939: 74; cf. Moisescu 1999: 33, 37). The chanters’ camp replied in varied ways. Their most important response was composer Gavril Galinescu, professor at the Academy of Music and Drama in Jassy, who gave a lecture in both Bucharest and Jassy, which was then serialised in both *Cultura* (fragments) and *Mitropolia Moldovei*, and later extended to book size, published with the title of *Cântarea bisericească* (“Church Music”).

Gavril Galinescu (1883–1960) had studied theology and music in Bucharest, then music in Leipzig (1910–1913) and Vienna (1930–1931).⁶¹ According to his testimony, the classes held by Hugo Riemann and Egon Wellesz had stimulated his interest in Byzantine chant, which until that moment he had despised (Galinescu 1941: 3–4).

The structure of the volume *Cântarea bisericească* is broadly the same as that encountered in the works of Ioanne Dem. Petrescu and bishop Melchisedek: a history of church music beginning with the first Christian centuries (on a higher scientific level than that of his predecessors, with significant bibliographical references, and including a chapter on Byzantine semiography and one on Gregorian chant), with two final chapters on church music among the Romanian.

Galinescu asserts that every nation has a musical language, in the same way in which it has a verbal language of its own. Byzantine music—or, as the peasants call it, “the song of priests”—is the living language in which the Romanians have become accustomed to speak with God, recognised as such and understood by all, preserved for centuries, “deeply rooted in the soul of the people”. The attempt to change it with another music—for instance, Russian

⁶¹ Vasile Vasile also mentions a trip to Athens, for studies with Konstantinos Psachos (Vasile 1997b: 253). Galinescu does not mention it in the book under analysis; the visit to Athens may have occurred after the publication of the book.

harmonic music—was tantamount to an attempt to change the religion of the people, whose faith was not based on dogmatic principles, but on sacred customs (the architecture of the church, the vestments of the priest, the candles, the frankincense, the chanting).⁶² For this reason, the Romanians had a strong reaction when the introduction of harmonic choirs was attempted in Moldavia in the 1850s (Galinescu 1941: 73, 78, 80, 87–88).

For Galinescu too, the Byzantine music of the church is a national patrimony. Galinescu adds that by the reading and chanting in church, the national language and the national culture were introduced and supported in the principalities (ibidem: 70, 87).

Like many of the authors we have already examined, Galinescu mentions the fact that the Romanians have always maintained the cultural contact with Constantinople, wherefrom they adopted the Christian faith. Galinescu gives special attention to Byzantium, the place where “**the prototype of Christian church chant** was crystallized in a solid and definitive form” (ibidem: 19, emphases in the original) through the combination and standardisation of all ancient cultures, especially those of the Orient. The Orient is the reference point for Galinescu: here is the true Christian music, “Ex Oriente lux—in Oriente lux being the maxim of all the Orthodox” (ibidem: 98, 19–21).

Galinescu’s view on the history of Romanian chant has a few distinctive features of its own when compared with that of his predecessors. Firstly, he believes that Byzantine church music is the same as Slavonic (Serbian) music, the only difference between them being the language of the texts. Secondly, he opines that the so-called “Turkish” influences—assumed by Ioan D. Petrescu to have existed in the chant of the nineteenth century—were none other than rich ornamentations found in many Oriental musics (including Turkish songs, Byzantine church chants, old Jewish music or the *doine* of the Romanian

62 On page 80, however, Galinescu places the church chant above the frankincense and the others, which he considers to be “mere symbols—hence of secondary importance”. The chant is “**the prayer itself**, which no other human language can replace” (emphases in the original).

shepherds), as well as in Italian opera.⁶³ They were preserved by the Three Teachers—whose reform did not change church music, but was only a didactic method and a simplification of the notation—, in the same way in which the chromatic and the enharmonic modes were preserved, about which it was erroneously believed that they were of Turkish, Arabic or Persian origin. The chromatic and enharmonic modes, the author claims, using Dimitrie Cuclin as basis, were eliminated in the primitive and barbaric Gregorian chant because they were too difficult, too subtle for the church singers in the West. They were not removed either by the Three Teachers or Macarie, an adversary of chants with Turkish influences. Additionally, Galinescu recommends caution when interpreting Macarie's affirmations concerning the chant in Constantinopolitan style with Turkish additions, since he sees these affirmations as being provoked by Macarie's discontent with regard to "the presence and consideration given to foreign cantors, foreigners from Constantinople" (ibidem: 41, 66–70, 85–86).

Galinescu's opinion on harmonic music is quite interesting. Like most authors analysed so far, Galinescu supports church harmonic music. More than others, though, he draws attention to the church character this needs to have and discusses at some length the secular character of Russian harmonic music, which, in his opinion, is wrongly called church music. The author invokes the authority of a study made by Liberio Sacchetti according to whom Russian religious music has either a popular character (hence a secular one), or foreign influences, mainly Catholic, that is, Polish and Italian. Galinescu emphasises that this music was introduced in Moldavia through political coercion—that went as far as torture and exile—by the Russian administration (during the Russian-Turkish conflicts and especially during the period of the Russian protectorate) and that the locals did not favour it and protested against the replacement of the traditional chant. Its most

63 In a similar vein, Galinescu shows that the nasal timbre imparted by some ornaments of the *psaltic* chant, scorned by Musicescu, was also present in Western music: "Musicescu, especially, poked fun at the *endophonon* in the chant—forgetting that French vocal music, for instance, is entirely endophonic" (Galinescu 1941: 75 footnote).

active promoter, Musicescu,⁶⁴ “committed a serious sin against traditional church music” and was an obstacle to the evolution of Byzantine music (ibidem: 2, 73–77, 80, 99–100, 102–103).

For Galinescu, the debate around the religious versus the secular character of church chant is more important than its ethnic origin. His position is distinctive from that of his contemporaries (Ion Popescu-Pasărea, George Breazul), being nearer to that of pre-war musicians such as Niculae M. Popescu or bishop Nifon. Galinescu is against church music based on secular or “semi-religious” Romanian music (such as Christmas carols): “each [type of] song belongs in its place: *chindia* and *bătuta*, at the village dance; the songs of mourning (Rom.: *bocetul*), at funerals; the carols, at Christmas and the New Year; love songs, at the beloved’s window [...]; and in church, only ‘the song of priests’” (ibidem: 79, 103).

Galinescu chooses to mention only five “illustrious chanters: Macarie, Anton Pann, Suceveanu, Ștefanache Popescu, Zmeu” and sketches a brief portrait of the first two. Galinescu does not rank them, nor does he see major differences between the adaptations of the chants by the two musicians: Macarie sought “at the same time to accommodate those chants to the taste of the Romanian people”, while Pann, “like Macarie, sought to give church music a specifically Romanian colour” (ibidem: 70–73).

George Breazul

Regarded by many as the founder of Romanian musicology,⁶⁵ George Breazul (1887–1961) was mostly interested in the history of Romanian music (with a

64 In an older article, Galinescu had a kinder approach to Musicescu’s endeavour, estimating that after the period in which Musicescu had undergone the influence of Russian music, he returned to the music of the ancestral Church, naming him “*our great Musicescu, great for the Romanian church*, fighting like a hero for a national-artistic credo” (idem 1930: 760, emphases in the original).

65 Speranța Rădulescu amends this opinion. She places Ioan D. Petrescu (Visarion), Constantin Brăiloiu and Dimitrie Cuclin alongside Breazul and insists that Brăiloiu and Breazul, with their different backgrounds, approaches and qualities, laid the foundations of Romanian musicology *together* (Rădulescu 2002: 54–61).

special consideration given to the pre-modern period), in folk music and pedagogy. He had studied music at the Central Seminary in Bucharest (with Ion Popescu-Pasărea) and the Conservatory in both Bucharest and Berlin, where Oskar Fleischer was his teacher. His opinions on national church music are spread in various articles written over a period that extends from the pre-World War I years to those of the communist period after WWII (Ionescu 2003: 360–363; Moisescu 1999: 88–98).

Breazul is preoccupied by the relationship between church and peasant music. For Breazul, “the authentically Romanian” church music—or at least that which bore “a Romanian stamp, even if not genuinely Romanian in its entirety”—was the village church music, crystallised throughout the centuries of Romanian practice, from the conversion to Christianity to the nineteenth century, in parallel with and probably under the influence of the folk song. He deplores the fact that the chance to impose this music was missed when it was decided that rural church chanters in Wallachia should teach their students chants (1838). Instead, what happened was that the village chant “was silenced” by the Greek chant used in the big churches, composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which gradually permeated “the layers of Romanian religious consciousness” (Breazul 1941: 574–575).

For Breazul, the music of Macarie the Hieromonk, Pann, Suceveanu and their contemporaries “attests the undeniable authority of the Greek chant, of which they are servile subjects”. He shows that the appeals contained in the prefaces written by Macarie and Pann against Greek influences did not intend to promote Romanian church music (that is, in Romanian folk character), but the Romanian language (*ibidem*: 574–575).

In other articles, Breazul adopts a more moderate view, recognising “the seal of the nation’s musical temperament” (*idem* 1970e: 26) in the Byzantine church music of Macarie and other Romanian cantors. Although this music corresponded only partially “to the musical instinct and sensitivity of the Romanian people”, it was nevertheless closer in spirit to the (rural) Romanian church music than the Russian harmonic music introduced by archimandrite

Visarion, and was “an essential element of Romanian cult and culture” (idem 1970d: 28).

The history proposed by Breazul starts from the beginnings of Christianity in Dacia—“even before the edict of Milan, maybe as early as the colonists who had been brought over by emperor Trajan” (idem 1970e: 23)—and discusses, for every major period, the contribution of the autochthonous musical spirit. During the first centuries, Breazul believes that “the musical spirit of the Geto-Dacian population impregnated the Christian music” (ibidem) introduced by colonists and missionaries, an opinion backed by the recognised musicality of the Thracians (among whom the Gets and the Dacians) and the improvisational character of ritual music at the time. Breazul then discusses the period in which the hymnography was formed, the Byzantine hymns were adopted and music was transmitted orally. Byzantine chants “were adapted to the temperament of the people⁶⁶ and the Romanian speech, which must have determined rhythmic and melodic suggestions, a certain particular musical natural development”. The author mentions that the ties with the Greek and Slavonic churches controlled this adaptation “so that church melodies be preserved in the form sanctioned by Oriental Christianity and not fall under the influence of the powerful musical instinct of the people” (ibidem: 24).

Byzantine chant flourished during the following centuries, due to the support it was given by Wallachian and Moldavian rulers, the use of notation and the arrival of clergy from the Balkans after the fall of Byzantium. Later, the Phanariote rulers “contributed to the promotion of Greek church music [neo-Hellenic, as Breazul clarifies the term in a different situation] which, in its turn, had received diverse influences from the musics of Asia” (ibidem: 25), more specifically the influences of the Turkish and Arabian styles, as explained elsewhere (idem 1956: 17). In the nineteenth century, the chants were “translated

66 Through *the temperament* of the people (Rom.: *firea poporului*), Breazul probably understands “its ethnic and psychological characteristics” (Breazul 1970e: 24). Nonetheless, there are other possible interpretations of the passage that contains this term, in which case it would be difficult to say exactly what is meant by it.

and adapted to Romanian”, as a result of the patriotic current that imposed “the elimination of Greek reminiscences from the cult” (idem 1970e: 25). This thesis of the elimination of the Greek reminiscences contradicts the previously mentioned thesis of the servile subjection to Greek chant, although both theses were published around the same time. The reader is thus placed in a difficult situation and needs to postulate the existence of a middle ground, perhaps inaccurately: the Greek influences during the Phanariote period—quite strong as they were supported by the political power, by an important presence of cantors from Constantinople and by the oral transmission of the Romanian chant—were curbed by the political situation after 1821 and by the works of Macarie, Pann and Suceveanu, in which the Greek character (with Turkish and Arabic influences) and the Romanian one are mixed in imperfectly defined proportions.

In two places, Breazul makes a special mention of five Romanian chanters: Macarie, Pann, Suceveanu—“the three great teachers of *psaltic* chant of the past century [the nineteenth]”—followed closely by Ștefanache Popescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea. This fifth one had also been mentioned by George Onciul, but Breazul insists on his importance and places him among the elite of Romanian chanters (ibidem: 25; idem 1970d: 27).

In a conference delivered on the occasion of the centenary commemoration of Pann’s death (1954), the cantor was eulogised, among other reasons, for having participated in the movement of translation of church books initiated by Macarie the Hieromonk. (Breazul links this movement to the political and cultural context, and in particular to the rebellion led by Tudor Vladimirescu—characterised, according to the prevailing ideology, as a movement “for social emancipation and national independence” (idem 1966: 270)—and notes Macarie’s criticism of Greek chant and of the patronising attitude of the Greek chanters towards their Romanian counterparts.) Breazul believes that Pann “asserts *the priority of the Romanian word*” (ibidem: 273, emphases in the original) and gives an exposition of the principles of adaptation of the melodic line—with reference to stresses and rhetorical figures—to the Romanian language. Breazul mentions the terms *a români*, *românire* (*to Romanianise*, *Romanianisation*) used by Pann to denote the

transposition of the chants into Romanian texts, and shows that in the process of Romanianisation, Pann sought to apply a “realistic aesthetics of ‘the word’ and ‘the nature of the Romanian language’” (ibidem). Breazul does not consider that Pann’s adaptations contain a remarkable dose of originality: “There can be no talk of an entirely original activity in the field of [composing] chants, but only of translation and compilation” (ibidem: 270–275).

The surprising fact is that Breazul reduces the Romanianisation by Pann to the adaptation of church chants to the Romanian language and does not invoke a Romanian melody, but accepts it in the obituaries he wrote for Ștefanache Popescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea. Ștefanache is called “the [chanter] who embodied in all the quiet majesty of his soul the entire Romanian church music” (idem 1911: 207), while his style is described as “classical, church-like, quiet, sweet, with a pronounced note of Romanian feeling, full of that solemn piety evoked by all the Romanian manifestations of our glorious past” (ibidem: 209). Popescu-Pasărea, “the continuator and direct descendant of Ștefanache Popescu”, possesses a knowledge that “presides to the simplification, renewal, Romanianisation and perfection of the old notions of church music composition. His renowned *Megalynarion in mode I plagal* can be quoted as an example of accomplishment in this creative direction. In it, the undulation and elegance of the line are surpassed only by the depth of feeling incorporated in the musical phrase of an authentic Romanian musical genius. In the same manner, many cherubic hymns, *megalynaria*, *leitourgika* and all the chants of the Liturgy have been modelled”. In addition, “Pasărea does not stop with the examination of the ethnic and historic origin of the church melodies incorporated into our rite via Macarie, Anton Pann and Suceveanu. What strikes him as unsuitable in them, without conformity to the musical temperament of our people, is ‘the gorgonate style’, the excessive ornamentation, which was to be streamlined in the literature of church music” (idem 1970d: 30).

From the passage above, it is difficult to extract Breazul’s opinion on the Romanian musical genius in nineteenth century church music. At first sight, he seems to say that with Ștefanache Popescu and, more profoundly, with Ion

Popescu-Pasărea, church music acquires a Romanian tint, which was absent or quite reduced in the compositions of Macarie, Pann and Suceveanu. Conversely, it might be more prudent to refrain from reading all of Breazul's articles in the same vein. Those about Ștefanache Popescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea were written upon the death of the two chanters and it was customary in this type of writing to use a moving style and exaggerate the merits of the deceased. The article about Pann was written at the beginning of the communist era, when the cultural directives stressed class consciousness versus national consciousness, and scientific explanations (in this case, linguistic ones), were preferred over the non-materialistic ones, such as those related to the Romanian spirit.

Breazul's opinions on harmonic church music are equally surprising. In an article written immediately after WWI, Breazul claims that the churches in Romania "have turned out to be sources of corruption rather of a serious artistic musical culture", in part due to the absence of musical instruments in the Orthodox rite and the late utilisation of polyphony. The author adds: "Under these circumstances, although the Orthodox church, unlike the churches of other denominations, cannot be a factor of great significance in the promotion of the musical culture of the people, our Romanian church is today one of the few institutions destined to influence, in great part, the course of our musical culture" (idem 1920: 293–294).

Breazul starts with the religious function of church music and claims that the lack of stylistic unity is the most bothersome aspect of church music. For Breazul too, prayer is more important than the national character of the chant. Thus, he does not shy away from recommending "the splendid compositions of Russian church music", the "everlasting" pieces of Bortniansky, Arhangelski, Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky or Borodin, in the absence of Romanian printed material. Breazul has a critical attitude towards Romanian composers: "with the exception of Musicescu and [Eduard] Wachmann, whose compositions can no longer be found in stores, we have almost no other chants [printed] in Romanian"; the remainder are either filled with mistakes (the compositions of Flechtenmacher, Podoleanu or Mugur) or too difficult for the church choirs of our time (those by

Stephănescu), unless they are “wholly unrelated to either our Orthodox church, or the art of music” (ibidem: 295–298; idem 1932).

In other places—for example, in a conference broadcast by Radio Rome or in the obituaries of Kiriac and Popescu-Pasărea—Breazul is appreciative and more interested in the national problem. Thus, Kiriac, Musicescu, Teodorescu brought “original and distinctive values to the musical patrimony of the Romanian people”, while Popescu-Pasărea created a new style of church music, “in which the ethos of the *psaltic* chant is more expressive and more strongly asserted through the harmonic and counterpoint procedures of Western music, without altering the originality and traditional character of the music, thereby opening new creative horizons for the Romanian religious music” (idem 1970e: 26, idem 1970d: 30). Also, Kiriac composed pieces in Romanian religious style and founded a style “asserting the existence and importance of the national character in the art of sounds” and was the first who realised that “the power of Romanian musical production cannot manifest its energy freely, except in the spiritual atmosphere of our people’s genius, using folk melodies and church chants as inspiration for art music” (idem 1973: 162).

The most important distinctive features of Breazul’s view are his special interest in the old history of Romanian church music, constructed mostly through speculation rather than on the basis of documentary sources, and the identification of authentic Romanian chant with the rural one before Macarie the Hieromonk. Most musicologists who were interested in Byzantine music adopted these notions too, along with concepts such as Romanianisation, the priority of the word for Pann, or the gorgonate style.

Zeno Vancea

Composer Zeno Vancea (1900–1990) is the author of one of the few studies of harmonic music in Romania, a short work of 72 pages published in 1944. As stated in the introduction of this work, Vancea was interested in the manner used by composers to create an autochthonous style and a national fingerprint, independently of foreign influences, in their works (Vancea 1944: 5).

A quarter of the work is dedicated to the discussion of the differences between two radically opposed and irreconcilable conceptions in music: the linear conception and the functional harmonic one. The latter characterises the peoples of Western Europe, and its moving force is the alternating pace of the dissonances and consonances. The chord sequence influences the melody in a fundamental way (the arpeggio motion, the symmetrical rhythmic pulsations, and the “square” form). In contrast, in the linear conception, the melodic line is sovereign: its moving force is “the interior expansion of the melody”, the rhythmic pulsations are flexible, the conjunct motion is typical, skips are rare, and the role of harmony, when present, is that of a mere framework. While Western Europe used both types of musical thinking (pre-eminently the harmonic one, and the linear one in the polyphonic variant), people in the Orient and in Eastern Europe—with the possible exception of the Serbs—used only the linear concept of music, up to the moment when it was grafted onto the harmonic one. Vancea explains the two different types of musical thinking on the basis of racial differences, quoting the German musicologist H.J. Moser: “the two concepts were born from two types of thinking that are fundamentally different and related to *organic racial differences*” (ibidem: 24, emphases in the text). In the case of Romanian folk music and religious music, Vancea formulates three hypotheses concerning the origin of linear musical thinking: a certain psycho-musical structure (specifically Romanian, by implication); the influence of Byzantine church music; the Thracian origin of Romanian music. Regardless of its origin, the linear character of Romanian music is undeniable (ibidem: 18–29).

According to the author, “the ideal of every nation can only be that of creating in every branch of art a distinctive [national] style”, and this includes church music (ibidem: 6). The polyphonic style, such as that used by Kiriak and his disciples, is suited to the linear music of the Romanian people. Vancea adds that, nevertheless, a national school cannot be limited to the purely autochthonous elements, but needs to assimilate elements that belong to other nations as well, “on condition that these are transformed organically in accordance with its own psychological requirements and fused with its own national elements in a seamless

unity”, with the indisputable predominance of the melody over the harmony and the avoidance of the imitation of church chant (*ibidem*: 26–32, 66–68).

The introduction of harmonic music to Romanians, a music that was not in keeping with the tradition of church music or with the musical conception of the Romanian people, provoked a crisis still current at the time when Vancea was writing this book. The author attributes the introduction of harmonic music to the decadence of the church chant, but also and mainly to the spirit of reform and wish for progress, “to awaken the Romanian people from the state of torpor in which [the society] had been plunged during the period of Phanariote rulers” (*ibidem*: 9–10, 18).

Zeno Vancea distinguishes among several schools of composition, on the basis of the influences they display: the Russian school, the German school, the traditional school and the eclectic school (this last one without representatives within the space and time investigated in this thesis). The Russian school consisted in composers without musical personality, whose compositions were simplistic, non-descript, imprecise, and influenced predominantly by the Russian harmonic writing (although they had been composed in order to replace the Russian repertory!),⁶⁷ composers who paid minimal attention to the traditional church chanting: Cartu, Gheorghe Burada, Podoleanu, Nicolae Bănulescu, Bunescu, Mugur. Theodor Georgescu (previously mentioned by bishop Nifon) was also mentioned here, as being nearer to the church chant, as was Musicescu, who differed from the other members of this school through his musical talent. Vancea insists that the assessment of Musicescu’s value must take into account not only his melodic inventiveness, the solid technique and the accessible style, but also the complete dependence of his works on the musical style of the Russian liturgy, indicating a lack of originality. Apart from the style, examined in detail by the

67 Zeno Vancea explains that liturgical music created during Peter the Great “was Russian in name only, since in fact, in style and structure, it was Italian, with very few Russian liturgical elements. This Italian-Russian style was cultivated in the Russian Church until later [...], even the most important of them (Bortniansky, Berezovsky, Tchaikovsky) being unable to create a purely Russian style, purified of foreign influences” (Vancea 1944: 12–13).

author, he also finds fault with Musicescu's Russian feeling: "that nebulous mysticism, that religious ecstasy that goes to the complete dissolution of the ego before the divine presence" (ibidem: 33–38).

In the ranks of the German school in pre-war Romania, Vancea places Wachmann-father and son and Alexandru Flechtenmacher. The style of the latter is overwhelmingly influenced by Schumann, while that of Eduard Wachmann mixes Italian, German and French elements; both styles are "far removed from the tradition and true spirit of the Orthodox church" (ibidem: 39–42).

The representative of the traditional school is Kiriac. Through him, "the church music of today and of tomorrow is connected with the past" and "the thread of the natural evolution of our church music, interrupted by the invasion of Western music", is continued. Vancea appreciates Kiriac both for his skill as a composer and for his musical intuition, as for the arrangements in the linear-polyphonic style of church chants. Among other members of this school, Vancea also mentions Gheorghe Ionescu—who arranged Byzantine chants harmonically rather than polyphonically, because he did not master the composition technique—, Titus Cerne, Teodor Teodorescu, Bazil Anastasescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea. This last one composed a liturgy for seminaries and secondary schools, with partly Byzantine and partly invented melodies, in which "although he does not achieve a linear polyphony as pure as Kiriac's, still he manages to offer much more than a mere harmonisation of these melodies" (ibidem: 59–64).

PART 3: HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

Romania entered the sphere of Soviet influence and became a communist state in 1945, just before the end of World War II. In the first half of the communist era, the idea of nation disappeared from the official discourse, making room for the ideas of internationalism and class struggle. Little by little, the nationalist ideology crept back in, as Romania was gradually distancing herself from the Soviet Union, and became more and more potent during Ceaușescu's regime (Boia 1997: 64–82).

For ideological reasons—atheism being an essential point of communist dogma—church music was a topic to avoid. With the exception of theological periodicals, the other publications referred to Byzantine music only as music of the pre-modern period, and to church choirs as vocal compositions, a situation quite different from that before WWII and between the two world wars, when church music had been discussed as a living music, not as a historical relic. Nevertheless, in the 1970s, as nationalism gained strength, the regime encouraged research on old church music—including its national character, practically ignored in the public debate of the first half of the communist era—because the proofs it offered regarding Romanian cultural life supported the national-communist ideology (cf. Metz 2000).⁶⁸ After the fall of communism, religious life flourished and church music was once again in the centre of attention as living music. Researchers picked up the debate on its national character and the compositions of the nineteenth century, connecting them with the music in today's churches. Surprisingly, perhaps, the general post-communist image is not essentially different from the image formed during communism, because both are based on the nationalist ideas of the interwar period, retained as valuable by contemporary musicologists. Consequently, the entire post-war period can be dealt with as a whole, even though social and political circumstances were vastly different.

The musicologists of the post-war period construct the picture of Romanian church music on the foundation laid by Popescu-Pasărea and Breazul, for the monodic chant, and by Zeno Vancea's classification, for multivocal music. They sometimes adopt themes and topics from the interwar period that had become obsolete at the time, such as the constant conflict between the Greek and the Romanian chanters. Post-war musicologists attempt to support their claims in a more scientific manner than their predecessors: they use previously unpublished materials, such as manuscripts in medio-Byzantine notation, and they seek to replace the romantic explanations with positivist and even quantifiable ones, where applicable (for example, the adaptation of chants to the Romanian genius is

68 Ironically, this did not spare the researchers many instances of harassment relating to the publication of their work.

equated with the adaptation to the musicality of the Romanian language, expressed through a greater ratio of certain specific intervals). In contrast with the preceding periods, in which the approaches were relatively varied, the post-war period is characterised by a standardisation of opinion: the younger authors adopt the assertions of the older ones, sometimes without discernment, contesting their authority only in secondary details.

The central element in post-war writings is the process of *românire* (*Romanianisation*), a term that replaces the term *nationalisation* used by Popescu-Pasărea.⁶⁹ The meaning of the term *românire* changes in time, acquiring nationalist connotations: from a mere technique destined to adapt chants to the Romanian language, it becomes a process of adaptation to the Romanian way of thinking and feeling. Also, the number of actions associated with the process of Romanianisation increases: to the correlation of musical stresses with word stresses and the elimination of Oriental external figures are added the shortening of the chants, the replacement of the short melismatic variants with the syllabic ones,⁷⁰ the use of rhetorical techniques to imitate meaning, the reduction of chromatic elements, ornaments and *kratimata*, and the incorporation of folk music. Anton Pann is regarded as having done a better job of Romanianising church chants than Macarie the Hieromonk, and Dimitrie Suceveanu ends up being considered, toward the end of the post-war period, as the most important Romanian chanter, whose adaptations were the best.

Doru Popovici

Composer Doru Popovici (b. 1932) is the author of an important work on Romanian harmonic music (Popovici 1966). The references to the idea of nation in connection with church music are relatively rare.⁷¹ They are confined to claims

69 During the communist era, the term *nationalisation* was used to mean the expropriation by the state of the privately-owned means of production and services, which took place in 1948.

70 I use here Ioannis Arvanitis's terminology. See, for instance, Arvanitis 2007: 237–240.

71 The term *national* is used by Doru Popovici (e.g. on page 42, where he calls George Dima “national composer”), but not in the context of church choirs in pre-war Romania.

regarding the presence in religious music of certain elements having supposedly originated from the Romanian musical folklore: modal scales, asymmetric rhythms, changing metre.

The author does not see a difference in value between the secular and the religious output of D.G. Kiriac and contradicts the opinions of “some musicologists of the past” who believed that Kiriac’s religious music was superior. According to Popovici, the religious works of Kiriac are the same as the secular ones “when it comes to their luminous content, the modal folk melody, the asymmetrical rhythm, the simple and transparent polyphony, but at the same time the varied choral writing” (ibidem: 89). Popovici mentions the changes of metre and the modes of several chants from *Liturgia psaltică* “in which there is an abundance of examples of modal polyphony and harmony, as well as an intense rhythmic variation, adopted from folk music” and concludes that Kiriac’s secular and religious music both have “roots that go deep into the same common source, folk music” and that “Kiriac was during his time an artist with a forward-looking aesthetics, connected with his people and sincerely wishing for revolutionary changes” (ibidem: 90–91).

The characterisation of Gavril Musicescu compositions for church choir is done in contrast with those by Kiriac, the latter being “permeated with a strong folk spirit”. Popovici asserts that Musicescu’s first works “had a somewhat modal character” and deplores the absence of modalism from his mature works, in which he had “forsaken the everlasting source of inspiration of the folk song and church chant, with their modal aspects and intensely varied rhythms, allowing the gradual infiltration of foreign influences, such as Bortniansky’s style [...], the baroque style and especially the musical style of the German rococo” (ibidem: 38).

The folkloric elements are also mentioned in the short paragraph dedicated to the religious choirs of Teodor Teodorescu (ibidem: 73).

Petre Brâncuși

A student of George Breazul, professor of Romanian music history at the Conservatory in Bucharest and one of the first doctors in musicology in Romania,

Petre Brâncuși (1928–1995) published a history of Romanian music from antiquity to the moment when it was written, 1969.⁷² The author discusses the problem of national culture and national specificity—see, for example, Brâncuși 1969: 149–150—, but he is reserved about associating these terms with church music.

Brâncuși claims that Byzantine music was adopted through the Slaves, a fact that did not mean—as far as we can surmise from the text—that Romanian musical forms and genres were suppressed. During the eleventh–twelfth centuries, on the territory of today’s Romanian state, church music had autochthonous features, next to Slavonic, Byzantine and Latin influences. The author assumes that music was similar in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, due to the continued and enduring exchange of cultural values, and in particular of manuscripts (*ibidem*: 42, 44, 45).

The rapport between native and foreign characteristics is analysed in other historic moments as well. During the period of the Phanariotes, church music was heavily influenced by Oriental music (among these influences the augmented second). Macarie the Hieromonk opposed these influences, along with those of Greek music and cosmopolitanism. In the harmonic choral pieces composed in the nineteenth century, next to the autochthonous elements, there were Italian, German, and Russian influences as well (*ibidem*: 85, 96, 123).

The author judges the decision to introduce the Romanian language (and the harmonic choirs, both linked with archimandrite Visarion) as “courageous”, but he neglects the contribution of Macarie or Pann, whom he mentions solely for their prefaces and their theoretical works (*ibidem*: 96, 110–111).

Brâncuși pays close attention to the connections between church music and folk music, both of which he attempts to characterise since Antiquity onwards. He

72 Valentina Sandu-Dediu presents Brâncuși in the following terms: “university professor and doctor in musicology, in point of fact the author of mediocre books and articles on music that are imbued with communist ideology” (Sandu-Dediu 2002: 37). Although this is true of the volume discussed here as well—Speranța Rădulescu does not mention it among the works of music history published during the communist era, Rădulescu 2002: 156—I have considered its inclusion necessary, since it is probably representative for the prevailing view in the 1960 and 1970s on Romanian church music.

cites the suggestion of Gheorghe Ciobanu (see *infra*) that a certain modal pattern—given by a certain closing formula—was adopted by Byzantine music from the Geto-Thracian music. Then, in the first manuscript with Romanian text and Byzantine notation (dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century), the “melodies [display] clear influences of folk music and in particular of the carols, which proves that the folk music had a significant influence on the ritual music of the church”. Brâncuși gives an example of a melody transcribed in staff notation—several *kola* from the first *heirmos* of the Palm Sunday Canon⁷³—whose rhythm is considered to be close to the rhythm of the carol. Finally, the author remarks that some composers of harmonic church music did try to utilise certain characteristics of Romanian folk music (*ibidem*: 44, 83, 123).

Gheorghe Ciobanu

Gheorghe Ciobanu (1909–1995) was perhaps the most authoritative voice in the field of Byzantine musicology in Romania. Unlike his professor of paleography, the reverend priest I.D. Petrescu, Ciobanu paid less attention to the manuscripts of the Byzantine period and more to the Byzantine chant in the Romanian Principalities, including the manuscripts in Chrysanthine notation. Ciobanu learned the chant at the Central Seminary of Bucharest with Ion Popescu-Pasărea, and was a church cantor in Bucharest for several years. He worked as a folklorist for over thirty years, at first with Constantin Brăiloiu, who was his teacher at the Conservatory; nonetheless, he can be considered a disciple of Breazul, to whom he referred as “my spiritual father” (Moisescu 1999: 109–110; Ionescu 2003: 416).

Ciobanu founds his view on that of Breazul, but he also brings arguments and develops some of the statements of the latter that had only been mentioned in passing. Ciobanu also voices his own point of view, based on research of the

73 Brâncuși mentions only the mode of the chant, but neither its title nor its author. The beginning of the piece is transcribed from G (with F as the final, similar to the transcription by father I.D. Petrescu, but without B flat in the signature), but towards the end of the second *kolon* it shifts suddenly and unjustifiably to a transcription that is a second higher (similar to one of the transcription versions by Ciobanu, but without F sharp in the signature).

manuscripts of the School of Putna (Moldavia, sixteenth century)⁷⁴ and of traditional Romanian music, and on his own experience as church singer. Ciobanu does not speak about a national church music, but is preoccupied by the Romanian features of church music. These could be owed to the musicality of the Romanian language, namely “the preference for certain intervals [...] and [...] a certain organisation of the melody and rhythm that is generally translated through the intervallic and dynamic value of the tonic stresses of words and the stresses of expression in sentences and periods”. The speaker of a language makes a more frequent and unconscious use in his singing of the musical elements that are specific to his native language (intervals being the most important among these, according to Ciobanu). Therefore, their presence in the language should be independently reflected in both the church and the secular traditional music. Using his studies of musical folklore as evidence, Ciobanu states that the major second, the minor third and the perfect fourth are the characteristic intervals of Romanian music, while the Bulgarians make frequent use of the diminished second and infrequently of the minor third; likewise, the Romanians seldom use the skips, whilst these are frequent in Bulgarian music (the minor seventh) and Serbian music (the perfect fifth); (Ciobanu 1974a: 320; idem 1974c: 299; idem 1974g: 37; idem 1992b: 194–195; idem 1984e: 184).

The presence of Romanian features is linked with chanting in Romanian, with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and especially with Anton Pann. Nevertheless, Ciobanu believes that these features may have been present before the introduction of the Romanian language in the ritual of the church, in the oral practice in Slavonic and Greek. As for the written tradition, Ciobanu avows that he has found no proof regarding the existence of Romanian features before the eighteenth century and emphasises the Byzantine character of the church music chanted by the Romanians.⁷⁵ He mentions the fact that a language can impart

74 For a general overview of the School of Putna, see Ocneanu 2006.

75 Around 1970, Ciobanu had claimed that the opposite was true, stating that the scribes from Putna reduced the number of skips in the chants they had adopted from Byzantine manuscripts, a fact that could only be explained by the musicality of the language, which called for the

certain features to a music (Byzantine music in this case), “but only [if it is] a living language and only over a period of time” (idem 1984e: 187; idem 1974f: 334, 338; idem 1984b: 131).

Ciobanu classifies the chants from Putna as part of the Romanian culture, even in the absence of the above-mentioned features: “Although it bears most limpidly the stamp of the Byzantine music, this art practised by the Romanians belongs nevertheless to them in full, as they had inherited it from Byzantium, they made it develop further, they supported it by their continuous help of the Orthodoxy, and they enriched it by their own ‘autochthonous’ works, whose echoes resounded even far abroad” (English in original). Thus for Ciobanu also, church music can be considered Romanian not just on the basis of observable external features, but also by virtue of the attitude of the Romanian interpreters and audience towards it, regardless of its origin (idem 1983: 88; idem 1984b: 131–132).

Ciobanu’s nationalism is less obvious than that of the pre-war or interwar cantors. It comes to the fore only occasionally, when certain sensitive topics are being broached (such as the Bulgarian or Romanian character of the Putna chants) or documentary evidence is missing and the author’s demonstration wavers. Thus, Ciobanu believes in the unity of church music among the Romanians in Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania and Banat in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries—their musical unity a reflection, as understood by Melchisedek, Popescu-Pasărea and others, of their national unity—or presupposes the genesis of an ethnic music concomitantly and somewhat similarly with the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people (idem 1974c: 300–301; idem 1974f: 355; idem 1974b: 279, 282; idem 1974i).

For Ciobanu, the history of church music among the Romanians begins before the apparition of the Romanian people per se, when its ancestors were converted to Christianity (in the fourth century or possibly even earlier, in the second and third centuries). Concurring with the historians of his time, Ciobanu

unconscious modification of the original melody (Ciobanu 1974c: 299; idem 1984c: 177). The change of view probably reflects a closer scrutiny of the manuscripts from Putna.

states that the process of ethnogenesis came to an end in the ninth century, the same date when rural communities became organised into Romanian feudal states⁷⁶ and Byzantine music was introduced, through contact with the Bulgarians. Taking as a starting point the manuscripts from Putna, in which the number of Greek chants is far greater than the number of Slavonic ones, Ciobanu contests the theories that the Slavonic language used in church was replaced by Greek and puts forth his own version. Thus, according to him, Romanians had been chanting in Latin and Greek during the first centuries of Christian practice. Latin was gradually dropped, until the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, while Slavonic was gradually introduced in the ninth–tenth centuries and eventually replaced Latin. The Slavonic language continued to be used in chant until the eighteenth century, even after the ritual books in Slavonic were dropped. Greek had always been in use—at least since the sixth century onwards, if not earlier—up until the middle of the nineteenth century (idem 1974f: 329–331; idem 1983: 45–66; idem 1974c: 297; idem 1974b: 278; idem 1974e: 289; idem 1984d).

The chant in Romanian was introduced relatively late, in the seventeenth century. (In a study that was published in the official magazine of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Ciobanu voices an opinion that was not re-iterated in other places: that there may have been chanting in Romanian as early as the seventh century until the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries.)⁷⁷ The late apparition of chanting in Romanian and its slow development were owed to a series of causes: the need to oppose the Protestant movement, who used singing in Romanian in order to make converts; the difficulty of translating Greek texts whilst maintaining the original metre and rhythm; the belief that the melodies of the chants, not just the words,

76 Communist historiography was very discreet about the states that had existed on the territory of Romania during the first millennium of the Christian era, after the withdrawal of the Roman Empire from Dacia (conducted under emperor Aurelianus around 270 A.D.), and preferred to speak instead of the rural communities of the Daco-Roman population.

77 The two dates represent the moments when the Romanian language allegedly became separated from Latin, respectively when the number of Slavonic manuscripts had become sufficiently high to allow that church service everywhere should have been conducted in Slavonic rather than Romanian.

were inspired by the Holy Spirit and hence should not suffer modifications;⁷⁸ the lack of printed material in Romanian, both of text with musical notation and of Romanian text alone (*Oktoechos*, *Triodion*, *Pentekostarion*, *Menaia*); the opposition of the Greek faction in the Romanian Principalities (idem 1974f: 330, 332, 337; idem 1974c: 299, 302–303; idem 1974a: 317–318; idem 1974e: 289, 293).

Ciobanu thinks that the term *românire* (Romanianisation)—used originally by Pann and re-introduced by Breazul—essentially means “imposing the Romanian language and replacing the Greek from church singing”. The term can also be understood as “matching the *psaltic* melody line [...] with the Romanian text” (somewhat surprisingly, Ciobanu concludes in an article that the term should be understood mainly in the latter sense). This matching was accomplished by respecting the Romanian word order and the concordance between the tonic stresses of the words and accents of the music, but also by adapting the Greek melody to the musicality of the Romanian language as mentioned earlier. Until the half of the nineteenth century, there were frequent mismatches between the

78 Ciobanu makes the following comment: “In his day, John Chrysostom claimed that ‘music was invented in heaven’, that ‘if man was a musician, it was by revelation of the Holy Spirit.’ An opinion of this sort—which was and still is supported by other members of the clergy—was possible for a bishop at the end of the fourth century, but is completely absurd in our day. As art, music—be it religious or secular—is a social creation, as is religion itself, alongside which it has in part developed.” (idem 1974d: 51). Ciobanu’s opinion on music as divine revelation could be a first; no church cantor would have made such claims before the communist era.

The passage, which seems to conform to the atheist ideology of the regime, could also be interpreted in a different manner. During the communist era, texts were often ambiguous on purpose, in order to make it into print past the censors and at the same time to allow the audience to read between the lines. When interpreted in this manner, the message of the above-quoted fragment would read like this: *The men of the church think that church music is a divine revelation; this opinion is considered absurd in our day, that is, in the communist era when values are turned upside down; music can be examined as a social creation as long as we speak of it as art, but you, wise reader, know very well that it is more than that.* Personally, I cannot decide if the passage reflects Ciobanu’s sincere opinion, if it is an opportunistic piece of writing, or if the Christian message is disguised in order to avoid censorship.

stresses of the text and those of the melody (except in the works by Macarie, Pann and Suceveanu), and the adaptation to the musicality of Romanian was only present in some of the chants (idem 1974a: 318–320, 322; idem 1974f: 336–340; idem 1974e: 294).

Ciobanu had an interesting perspective on the relationship between religious music and traditional secular music. He distinguishes between the Byzantine chant as practiced in monasteries and the important urban churches, which had financial and educational resources, and the music of ordinary churches. The latter was a music also Byzantine in essence, but unable to keep up with the centre and heavily influenced by folk song. Such influences can be seen in the church chants composed by Romanian authors and preserved in manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century, even those on Greek texts. Ciobanu gives two examples of chants influenced by folk music: the Palm Sunday Canon as recorded by Filothei sin agăi Jipei (1713) and the *heirmos* of the first canon of Nativity, recorded at the end of the nineteenth century “as it was sung of old”. He believes that the influence of folk music was a necessary condition for church music to acquire a national character. Like Breazul, he finds that Macarie had not incorporated much of this character at all in his compositions (idem 1974b: 284; idem 1974c: 300, 302; idem 1974h; idem 1974f: 339).

To support his views on the existence of a Romanian character of church chants, of some specifically Romanian features of this music, Ciobanu relies on the testimony of the manuscripts, in which some chants are noted as being “vlahika”, and on that of Anton Pann, who had supposedly made several references to “the old Romanian style” and claimed that “church music achieved its national character long ago”. Next to the Romanian style of composition, there was also a Romanian style of interpretation, which would have eliminated “the continuous nasalisation and gurgling” that were inherent components of the Constantinople style. The Romanian style of both composition and interpretation became prevalent in the eighteenth century and was finally enthroned as the norm in the nineteenth (idem 1974c: 304; idem 1974h: 310, 314; idem 1974f: 338).

According to Ciobanu, the output of the School of Putna also displays

characteristic features. Ciobanu is hesitant about calling these features specifically Romanian, but categorically denies their Bulgarian origin, and mentions the Romanian nationality of the most significant chanter of the school, Evstatie, along with the fact that the music of this school of Putna was also famous outside of Moldavia, where it was known as “rospevi putnevski”. Likewise, Ciobanu shows that it is incorrect to attribute a Bulgarian character to Byzantine music that had been transmitted by the Bulgarians in the tenth century (idem 1974f: 333–335; idem 1983: 71–73, 83–88; idem 1984a: 112–114).

The problem of foreign influences is discussed in detail. While the Bulgarian influence is rejected, Ciobanu accepts the existence of Greek and Oriental influences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He distinguishes between the old Byzantine music and the Greek music from the time of the Phanariotes, “more heavily influenced by lyric music, especially by the Turkish-Persian-Arabic music which was in high fashion throughout the entire Ottoman Empire”, which was adopted in Wallachia and Moldavia. The adoption of Greek music seems to have taken place at the same time that chanters were making the first efforts to put together a Romanian repertory. Thus, Macarie’s music is Greek, lacking the Romanian character of the older chants that had been influenced by folk music; on the other hand, the craft of adapting the Greek melody to the musicality of the Romanian language, developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had clearly been passed on to Macarie. When we put together Ciobanu’s sometimes contradictory affirmations, we understand that during the eighteenth century, church music had lost its Romanian character due to the pressure of Greek music, but also acquired such character, due to the gradual refinement of the techniques of adapting Greek music to Romanian words (idem 1974b: 283–284; idem 1974f: 338–339).

The Oriental influences brought over by the new Greek music are melodic formulae, a certain ornamental manner and the inflexions that originated in the repertory of external songs “of Greek-Persian-Turkish-Arabic origin”, as well as the modal scales of the Persian-Arabic *maqamat* (*moustaari*, *segkiah*, *atzem asiran* and others). These can be found in the *papadic* chants, not in the *sticheraric* or

heirmologic chants.⁷⁹ Although he does not state this explicitly, Ciobanu seems to connect the abundance of chromaticisms with the infiltration of the Persian-Arabic modes in church chanting (idem 1974b: 284; idem 1974c: 303; idem 1974f: 340–341; idem 1974e: 293).

Among the most important chanters of the nineteenth century, Ciobanu lists Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann and Dimitrie Suceveanu, all of whom were good translators of the Greek chants; in their works, clumsy stresses are only occasionally found, and the manner of their adaptation is free and creative (unless Pann wished to preserve the Greek melody in its exact form: the *automela*, the *Eulogeitaria* of the Resurrection, the *katavasies* for the Saturday of Lazarus and some *stichera* for the Lauds).⁸⁰ It has already been mentioned that Macarie did not adopt the old Romanian character of the church chants, but he did adapt the Greek melody to the musicality of the Romanian language, thereby obtaining a flowing melody, without great skips. Macarie's adaptation follows not so much the melodic line, which is rewritten "according to the requirements of the Romanian text", as it does the system of cadences. Even this system is not strictly observed "when the content of the text requires it", and the melody cadences in the high register or the low register, "depending on whether the idea is one of ascent or of descent" (idem 1974f: 339; idem 1974a: 319–320).

Pann's adaptation are considered the best (especially the *heirmologic* chants), both in terms of the harmonisation of the literary stresses with the melodic ones and in terms of matching the melodic line to the musicality of the Romanian

79 In an article written in 1966 (1974b: 284), Ciobanu claims that *sticheraric* and *heirmologic* chants were renewed by Petros Lampadarios, about whom it was noted that he was skilled in Persian music. The note suggests the presence of Oriental influences in the *sticheraric* and *heirmologic* repertory. Nevertheless, in later articles, Ciobanu explains that normally, these influences are missing from the *sticheraric* and *heirmologic* pieces.

80 Among the important chanters of the nineteenth century, Ciobanu also lists Visarion the (Hiero)monk, who had followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Iosif the Monk from Neamț. Ciobanu mentions that the merit of the two was a greater attention paid to *heirmologic syntoma* chants, without linking this attitude however with the process of Romanianisation of the chants (idem 1974f: 338).

language. Pann is also mentioned for his elimination of the external figures, namely of the ornamental manner and the typically Oriental modulations, from the *papadic* chants and those of the *Doxastarion*. However, some of the actions taken to adapt the Greek music to the Romanian words were less inspired: for instance, the frequent use of skips in the *papadic* chants and those of the *Doxastarion*—for Ciobanu, skips were strangers to the musicality of the Romanian language—due to his aesthetics based on that of Dionysios Foteinos⁸¹ (idem 1974a; idem 1974f: 340; idem 1992a).

Ciobanu's opinions on Pann's adaptations—or about his *Romanianisation* of the chants, the term *românit* (“Romanianised”) being for Pann (according to Ciobanu) synonymous with “modelled”, “translated”, “done”, “rendered” and “refashioned”—are stated in several texts, among which two articles written in 1969, upon the 175th anniversary of Pann's birth. The former is twelve pages long (including four pages of musical examples, 1974a), the latter is only two pages, without examples or references (1992a). According to the latter, Pann employed a series of interventions to achieve his Romanianisation: “In what concerned the other church chants [which were not syllabic ones], Anton Pann shortened those that were too long, simplified those that were too melismatic, removed ‘the external figures’—as he called them—meaning the Oriental inflexions of the melody, eliminated the repetition of some words or parts of words that made understanding the text difficult, and dropped the so-called ‘*teretismata*’, in which the text under the neumes of the musical notation consisted in the syllables ‘te-ri-rem’, ‘to-to-to’ etc. All these interventions led to what he called ‘the Romanianisation’ of church chants, the merit for which belongs to him fully”.

Among these interventions, the shortening and simplification of the chants are also mentioned in other articles by Ciobanu, apparently without any connection

81 Pann's aesthetic conception, mentioned by Ciobanu, consists in essence in the imitation of meaning (cf. Χρύσανθος 1977: 187–188), also present in Macarie the Hieromonk. Like Breazul (1966: 271–275), Ciobanu appreciates Pann for his aesthetic conception, even if he notices some mismatches like the presence of large skips (Ciobanu 1974a: 320–321; idem 1974f: 340).

to the technique used to adapt (Romanianise) church music. The elimination of other components except the external figures is not mentioned anywhere else. Possibly this article, written for a general audience, was a working hypothesis containing claims that were later invalidated by Ciobanu's subsequent research.⁸² Whichever the case may have been, the ideas in this text regarding the technique of Romanianisation were to be reiterated later by other musicologists who did not question their validity.

The third chanter, Dimitrie Suceveanu, is noteworthy for his *Idiomelar*. Like Popescu-Pasărea, Ciobanu sees this work as a peak, despite the Greek origin of most chants, for “the way in which he [Suceveanu] matched the melodic line to the text, for the flowing quality of the melody, and for the removal of every aspect that did not suit the taste of the audience” (idem 1974f: 340). (This is one of Ciobanu's rare references to the taste of the Romanian audience.)

Besides the masterful adaptation, Ciobanu also evaluates the pieces according to another criterion, which is their validation by the community. Some formulations (for instance, those in connection with the elimination of the external figures, but not of the skips in the *Doxastarion* and the *papadic* chants by Pann) suggest that the validation by the community is a good measure of a good adaptation, even if at other times this link is not explicit. Among the chants that “did not withstand the test of time”, Ciobanu ranges those from the Macarie's and Suceveanu's *Anastasimataria* and *Heirmologia* (with the exception of the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode of the *katavasies* by Macarie)—because of their rich ornamentation—, and the *papadic* chants and those of the *Doxastarion* by Pann. Among those that did, he lists the fast *katavasies* and the *stichera* of the *Anastasimatarion* by Pann, the latter with a simpler melodic line and without too ample melismas; and the ever simpler chants of Pann's followers: Ștefanache Popescu, Neagu Ionescu, Ioan Zmeu, Nicolae Severeanu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea

82 The publication date of this article in 1992, in the last collected volume of Ciobanu's works, is no indication that its content is in agreement with the late opinions of the author. The volume includes a lot of outdated information, the reason why Titus Moisescu, a close collaborator of Ciobanu, was reserved about the publication of some of the articles in it (Moisescu 1999: 126).

(idem 1974f: 339–341; 1974a: 321).

Octavian Lazăr Cosma

Octavian Lazăr Cosma (b. 1933) is one of the most important contemporary musicologists in Romania. His best-known work, *Hronicul muzicii românești* (“The Chronicle of Romanian Music”), is a history of Romanian music up to 1920, published in nine volumes between 1973 and 1991. The work is still regarded as the main reference work for the period before the twentieth century. Like the histories of Poslușnicu and Brâncuși, it is primarily a history of Western art music in Romania, but it also gives ample space to the church music, the traditional peasant music, and the Oriental art music.

The sections on Byzantine music are constructed on the basis of the opinions of the author’s predecessors. Octavian Lazăr Cosma has read many of their books and has tried to harmonise divergent opinions. Regrettably, the fact that he is unfamiliar with this music is quite obvious.

Cosma looks at the history of Romanian music through the lenses of Marxist dialectics, an ideological approach he may have acquired during his studies at the Conservatory of St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad). He describes the history of church music as a struggle between music in the Greek language, taught by Greek teachers, and music in Romanian; between the Constantinople style of chanting, marked by Oriental influences, and another one, closer to the folk sound; between the medieval forms of chant and those corresponding with the new social realities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; between monody and homophony; between a reactionary, backward mentality, and a progressive one.

Cosma defines Romanian music as “that artistic form of sound-making that was created on the territory between the Carpathian mountains and the Danube river, as an expression of the way of life and the aspirations of the local populace, fused from the ancient Thraco-Dacian population and the Roman [colonists]” (Cosma 1973: 50). The fusion of the two musics—through a similar process as the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people—gave birth to a new music, distinctive from

those that had generated it. The author labels the music made during the period of ethnogenesis (from the end of the third century to the tenth century) as *proto-Romanian*.

The essence of Romanian folk music is Thraco-Geto-Dacian, Cosma claims, and the Latin spirit is present in a smaller quantum. Above these, there is an outer layer of “contaminations” with the musics of other people—the Slaves during the period “of the ethnogenesis of Romanian music”, the Greek, Turkish, Hungarian and German, after the tenth century—which nevertheless do not alter its ancestral expression. Next to the autochthonous sonorous fund, Romanian music is shaped by the action of three factors: the language, the psychological structure and the way of life of the (proto-)Romanian people. Its characteristics are alleged to have been the easily chantable structure; the melody constructed on the basis of a succinct thematic cell; the numerous ornaments; the rhythmic and metric variety; the diatonic modalism (the chromatic modes are supposedly the result of the Oriental influences suffered later on); and the flexible architecture (ibidem: 45–51).

Romanian religious music—like other Romanian musics—has its roots in folk music, whose features have just been described. These features were equally recognised by others, for example the Greek who accused the Romanian chanters at the beginning of the nineteenth century of singing after the Romanian fashion, called *vlahica*. Cosma uses the epithet *national* to qualify church music: Macarie’s words “became the programme of redemption of national music, of *psaltic* music”; the traditional *psaltic* chants Podoleanu wished to harmonise at the end of the nineteenth century are “our national religious chants”; religious harmonic compositions of that time acquired a “national character”; the traditional Romanian chant had a “national form” and a “national colour”. In addition, Romanian chant possessed distinct geographical features that varied from region to region (ibidem: 52, 79; idem 1974: 96, 98; idem 1986: 244, 248, 251, 255).

Cosma’s claim that church music originates in the Romanian folk music must be taken, to my understanding, as a criterion of the “Romanian-ness”⁸³ of a

83 The term is mine, and is not used by Cosma.

religious music: a church music is Romanian if it possesses the features of Romanian peasant music. Cosma also offers another, chronological, perspective, according to which church music as practised by the Romanians is derived from Byzantine music and carries Greek-Oriental influences, and the different origins of church music and folk music respectively explain the structural differences between them. Consequently, the history sketched by Cosma describes a church music that resembles the Byzantine church music and in time, acquires Romanian features and thus becomes a Romanian church music (idem 1975: 137).

According to Cosma, beginning with the fifteenth century, when Byzantine music became relatively immutable, elements from the autochthonous folklore permeated the church music of the Romanians: “modal, melodic and other types of formulae”. The phenomenon intensified in the eighteenth century, as Byzantine music acquired “original features, deduced from the way of speaking, singing and feeling of the Romanian people”. The influence of folklore did not necessarily mean the adoption of certain musical fragments, but rather of an ambiance, “a sublimation of the medieval folkloric ethos”, as can be observed in the Palm Sunday Canon by Hieromonk Filothei (idem 1973: 81, 136, 140, 237, 260–261).

The eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century were marked by an open conflict between two opposing parties: the reformers, who advocated the replacement of the Greek and Slavonic languages in the church chant with the Romanian language—encouraged, paradoxically, by the Phanariote rulers and the Greek high clergy—and the diehard reactionaries, headed by Greek monks. The latter, in an attempt to safeguard their supremacy in the hierarchy of the church, maintained that the removal of the Greek language was tantamount to an attack on the church and her dogmas. On a musical plane, there were also two tendencies: one that strove as mentioned above to impart Romanian features to the music of the church, and the other that sought the widespread introduction of Oriental influences (Turkish-Greek-Persian-Arabic) of Muslim origin: chromatic modal structures, asymmetrical rhythms and “a veritable orgy” of ornaments and melismas borrowed from secular music (ibidem: 365–367, 379–381; idem 1974: 68, 84).

The Romanianisation of church music was the chief preoccupation of church cantors in the first half of the nineteenth century. Cosma defines this process as “the purification of the chants from the multitude of Oriental influences [...] and the generalisation of the chant in Romanian”. The process of Romanianisation began with the wish to allow the church-going audience to understand the text of the liturgy, and unfolded in three phases, corresponding with the three modalities of translation of church chants as they had been described by Gheorghe Ciobanu: the first translations that preserved the original melodies; next, the translations that adapted the melodies to the spirit of their new language; and finally, the original compositions. Each phase had its chief representative, who according to Cosma was Hieromonk Filothei for the first phase, Macarie the Hieromonk for the second, and Anton Pann for the third, respectively. The Romanianisation did not eliminate Greek influences,⁸⁴ because its promoters in the nineteenth century focused on the repertory of the Three Teachers, ignoring both Romanian village church chant and the translations that had been done in the first half of the eighteenth century, before the contamination of the repertory by Oriental influences. Thus, the Chrysanthine reform and the neglect of rural chant “diminished the national colour of Romanian religious music”, and the “golden trove of Romanian song [...] [was] mutilated by the Chrysanthine reform”. In a more recent volume, Cosma asserts, nevertheless, that Macarie and Pann combined “the style of folk music with the *echoi* of Byzantine music”, this being the individualising feature of their art (idem 1974: 70, 84–85; idem 1975: 9–10, 139–140, 325; idem 1986: 242).

Cosma extends the process of Romanianisation to the theory of the New Method: “the theoretical system and the chant system were adapted by transposition to the specificity of the Romanian language and feeling”; “Macarie

84 O.L. Cosma refers in passing to the distinction between “Greek chant” and “the chant of the Eastern church, which was sung in Greek” (Cosma 1975: 139), but he often uses the former in situations where the latter would have been more appropriate. To my mind, in some cases—especially in contexts that deal with the process of Romanianisation in the nineteenth century, as above—Cosma envisions the Greek musical elements of Byzantine chant.

and Anton Pann [...] were to give new value and to ‘Romanianise’ centuries-old principles and practices of Greek-Byzantine origin”. However, the author does not explain what the Romanianisation of the theoretical system consisted in (idem 1974: 75; idem 1975: 375).

The apparition of church harmonic music is explained by Cosma through the increased influence of Western music and the fact that it imparted a more solemn and festive character to religious services. Cosma appreciates that the chanters of the first half of the nineteenth century “in some way demonstrated their incapacity to find a solution that responded to the requirements of the time”, allowing archimandrite Visarion to replace the traditional repertory with a Russian one. The replacement of monody by harmony was a desideratum, since the latter was “superior”, but the transplanting of a manner that had “come from abroad” and the neglect of the *psaltic* music which was so “strongly impressed upon the Romanian consciousness” was a deficiency of Visarion’s actions and, later on, of Cuza’s. At a later date, some composers attempted to overcome the confrontation between conservatives and modernists by getting close to folk music (ibidem: 10, 23, 149–150; idem 1976: 183–184, 357–358; idem 1986: 179).

Cosma distinguishes three directions in the manner of composing music for church choirs: the Russian school, the neutral one (of a “universal” type) and “the national [school], Oriental in essence, as it promotes melodies that are typical for the ritual of the Romanian church”. The most important representatives of the three directions were, according to Cosma, in turn, Musicescu, E. Wachmann and Kiriak. The “national” compositions were few in the nineteenth century, but grew in number toward 1900; they could not have appeared in any case before the synchronisation with the level of art music worldwide. Cosma also mentions the polemics amongst the members of the three currents and shows that the offensive was started by the adepts of the national current, “who could not come to terms with the notion that the old chant had been removed from the Romanian church, having been replaced with an imported music, out of sync with the historic tradition, the temperament and the sensitivity of the Romanian people”. The musicologist makes an occasional reference to the connection between Romanian

music and elements from church harmonic compositions: the interval of the minor third, frequently used in Romanian music, is highlighted in a piece by Musicescu;⁸⁵ that of the augmented second—often used during that period to suggest a Romanian character, as seen in the previous chapter—imparts a superficially Oriental character to a piece by E. Wachmann; a local colouration can be obtained “through a more flexible, more sinuous melody, and plagal cadences” (idem 1986: 240–241, 243, 253, 282–283).

The link between Romanian church music and Oriental music is a complex matter. Cosma believes that Oriental music had elements that were not suited to the temperament and the sensibility of the Romanian people: “the voluptuous states, the over-done complaints, the excessive sentimentality”. On the other hand, “as part of the family of nations having entered the sphere of Byzantine music, some Oriental touches characterise us after all, and their complete removal would have been an exaggeration”. The Oriental influence was beneficent as long as it could be checked by the Romanian taste; imposed by the Phanariotes in excessive doses, it turned out to be obnoxious. In church music, the Oriental mannerisms became excessive from the eighteenth century onwards and were reduced—although insufficiently—by Macarie the Hieromonk and especially by Anton Pann. The national direction in compositions for church choirs sought to utilise “the Oriental nuance of the melody, the melismatic structure, the *echoi* that preserved their identity and other sufficiently poignant attributes that became unmistakable”. Last but not least, the presence of Oriental elements in church choirs echoed their presence in the monodic chant of the same time and place; thus the author ascribes the absence of Oriental elements from Musicescu’s compositions to the fact that they were less frequent in the chant sung in Jassy compared with the chant that

85 This is the interpretation given by me to the following passage: “Musicescu appears like a consummate master who dexterously traces lines of strength and depth, articulating like a symphonist ideas and themes that acquire in the process unsuspected meanings. Thus in the *Megalynarion for 1 January in E major*, the theme of the sopranos, which is meditative and introspective, is inscribed on a variational axis whose recoil is identified in a portion of minor third, so frequent in Romanian music, including art music, for instance in Enescu.” (Cosma 1986: 253). The unclarity in this passage is not a rare occurrence in Cosma’s work.

was practiced in Bucharest (idem 1973: 234; idem 1976: 182; idem 1986: 247, 255).

Hronicul contains numerous entries and presentations of church music chanters and composers, beginning with Filothej the monk from Cozia (cca. 1400).⁸⁶ With the required precautions, the author asserts that they introduced Romanian elements in the Byzantine chant (idem 1973: 160–177, 247–263, 379–380). Hieromonk Filothei, Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann are considered to be the most important adapters, as mentioned above, each of them being discussed in detail on several pages. Cosma adopts the hierarchy proposed by Popescu-Pasărea and Ciobanu, according to which Pann’s adaptations are better than those by Macarie.

“The most urgent drive” in Macarie’s activity as an adapter was “to extirpate the ornaments and the Oriental overgrowth of the Greek chants, simplifying them so that they matched the language and sensibility of the Romanians”. His results were remarkable in the historic context in which Macarie was active, but he “did not solve the problem of the Romanian specific character of the chants”. Macarie the Hieromonk fought against the Turkish influences, but not against the Greek ones in church music; he chose the music imposed by the reform of the Three Teachers—a Greek-styled music with powerful foreign elements, according to Cosma who quotes father I.D. Petrescu, which “represented an affront to the national tradition” to the detriment of the folk melody and the medieval Byzantine chant (that included the adaptations of Hieromonk Filothei). This chant, although also influenced by Greek music, “had been assimilated and adapted to the way in which Romanian believers felt and received [church music]”. Macarie adopted the new repertory of Greek chants “for fear of being accused of disloyalty towards the Orthodox church” (idem 1974: 10–11, 85–87, 90; idem 1975: 137–138).

Consequently, Macarie’s Romanianisation was nothing more than “the

86 See chapter 3, note 26. Filothej has been widely accepted in Romanian musicology as the composer of the music of the *pripěla* although in my opinion, the evidence points to him only as compiler of their lyrics.

permutation of the ritual music used in the Greek-Orthodox church to the specificity of the Romanian language”,⁸⁷ by correlating the stresses of the original melody with the stresses of the Romanian language and operating modifications required by the vocabulary and word order (Rom. *topica*) of the Romanian language.⁸⁸ This “permutation” also occasioned “the simplification of the melody, [which had been] burdened with numerous melismas, ornaments and vocalises, to the end of obtaining an austere, chantable line that was better suited to the sense of the Romanian people” (idem 1974: 75, 85, 90; idem 1975: 138).

Among the reference works left by Macarie, Cosma lists *The Anastasimatarion*, especially the *kathisma De frumsețea* (Τὴν ωραιότητα) and the *apolytikion* of the Resurrection in mode 3 (citing Nicolae M. Popescu), the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode for the Presentation of the Lord, the Annunciation, the Palm Sunday, the Pentecost and especially the Easter (idem 1974: 92–94).

About Anton Pann, Cosma thinks that like Macarie, he did not wish to abandon the Constantinopolitan chant, but achieved a better Romanianisation of church music than his predecessor. Cosma explains Pann’s process of Romanianisation with the aid of some ideas and terms that have been encountered previously in the works of Popescu-Pasărea (the simplification, the shortening and the polishing of the chants by Pann,⁸⁹ the observance of the style of the Wallachian chanters), Breazul (the gorgonate style, the priority of the Romanian word) and Ciobanu (the fact that the Greek melody was followed only in broad terms). Cosma insists on the fact that Pann respected the specificity of the Romanian language, though he does not make it clear how this specificity determined the Romanianisation of the chants. He also asserts that Pann chose to translate only the

87 Cosma believes that Macarie *transposed* (Rom. *a permutat* and *a transpus*) Greek chants to the specificity of the Romanian language, but did not *solve the problem of their specifically Romanian character* (Cosma 1974: 75, 90).

88 In the text, “the vocabulary and place names (Rom. *toponimia*) of the Romanian language”, probably a typographical error (ibidem: 85).

89 Cosma does not make the same distinction as Popescu-Pasărea between *modelling* and *nationalisation* and asserts that Romanianisation meant a meticulous process of *polishing* or *modelling* (Cosma 1975: 143).

songs that “corresponded with the nature and sensitivity of the Romanian people”, because “only matching the chant with ‘natural utterings’ was a legitimate activity” (idem 1975: 138–144).

The characteristics attributed by Cosma to Pann’s music are described in the same language as the one used by nineteenth century writers to describe Macarie’s: “the clarity, the elegance and the nobility of the musical discourse”. Cosma adopted Breazul’s interpretation, according to which the *gorgonate style*, which Pann tried to avoid, was rich in melismas, and opposes to this style the elevated melody, the natural expression and sobriety that Pann sought. His compositions also had shortcomings: “numerous chromatic inflexions and a rhythmic notation that was not always appropriate”. Only two chants are praised: *De frumusețea (Τὴν ωραιότητα)*, the version in Pann 1854d (“from amongst the numberless chants, imperishable masterpieces of the genre”)—mentioned by Breazul in his article about Pann—and *Pre înțelepciunea (Τὴν σοφίαν)*, “of a veritable artistic standard” (ibidem: 143, 145, 325; Breazul 1966: 278).

Dimitrie Suceveanu is discussed in brief. Cosma finds that his *Idiomelar* was an “important contribution laid upon the altar of the completion of the work of Romanianisation of Byzantine chant” (Cosma 1975: 146).

In the presentation of the chanters and of church chant, the question of the Romanianisation occupies a prominent place, both in terms of the space allotted to it and of the importance it has as a criterion of assessment of the value of a composition or a composer. In contrast, the interest in the Romanian character of church choirs is considerably reduced. In my opinion, there can be two explanations of this fact. First, Cosma appears more interested in the progress-oriented character of music: thus, the chant in Romanian or with Romanian musical elements represented for Cosma a step forward from Byzantine or Oriental chant; also, a composition in parts, be it of Russian or West European origin, was superior to monodic chant, especially when the latter had not succeeded in shaking off the Greek and Oriental elements. Secondly, Cosma’s lack of familiarity with Byzantine music compels the author to rely on the writings of his predecessors, in which the national question occupied a prominent place. Conversely, in the case of

harmonic compositions, Cosma is in a position to offer his own value judgements, based on their musical analysis.

The information on the Romanian elements in harmonic compositions created within the time frame and geographical space that interest us here is scarce. Cosma mentions that the music of two liturgies by J.A. Wachmann has nothing Romanian about it, but in the third liturgy, *Liturgie d'après les Psaltiques*, the composer came close to the autochthonous church music; that in his religious music, Musicescu “sought the sentiment of piety and not the national form”; also, that Eduard Wachmann did not cultivate traditional songs, and his compositions “carried the religious feelings in the universal spheres”—all of these remarks being made without formulating any critique. As for the representatives of the national current, Cosma shows appreciation for Teodor Teodorescu, whose compositions were “strongly centred on the traditional vein” and didn’t usually “appeal to melodies with Oriental nuance”, and for D.G. Kiriac, who combined *psaltic* chant with harmonic singing. The latter usually adapted church chants in which he respected the structure of the modes, which gave his pieces an “archaic and at the same time Romanian” sonority; a Romanian colour, somewhat pre-Oriental (i.e. before the apparition of the Oriental influences), was imparted by the infrequent utilisation of the modes “with Oriental resonance”. Podoleanu is not appreciated as much as the previous two: his works were pleasant and accessible, but also contained banalities, and the composer’s fantasy was poor. Cosma ranges Podoleanu both in the European and the national current and mentions that he did not manage to avoid the Russian style, although he had tried (ibidem: 325–326; idem 1976: 191, 358; idem 1986: 251, 280, 282–288, 294, 297)..

Nicu Moldoveanu

Father Nicu Moldoveanu (b. 1940) was professor of music at the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest, conductor and composer of church harmonic music. His articles on music history represent the essential bibliography for students and graduates of the faculties of Orthodox theology in Romania, even if they are less frequently cited by lay musicologists. Moldoveanu is rather conservative when it

comes to expressing personal opinions. He often quotes authorities such as Ciobanu, Cosma or Poslușnicu, sometimes expressing opposite views which are mentioned without the support of an argument for either side of the debate, or trying to adopt a middle ground.⁹⁰

Moldoveanu believes that through the adaptations done in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Byzantine music in the Romanian Principalities acquired a specifically Romanian note, a national character that was given not just by the text, but also by the melody. Unlike the music of other Orthodox nations, Romanian church music “did not depart completely from neo-Byzantine music [...] but neither did it remain a prisoner to its patterns, having on the contrary a pronounced autochthonous character”, easily recognisable both in adaptations and in “purely Romanian compositions”.⁹¹ The unanimous wish of the nineteenth century chanters to Romanianise church chant definitively caused the norms (called “models”, Rom. *calapoade*)⁹² of the translators of the early 1800s to be observed after 1850 as well, while the uniformity of the educational programme in theological seminaries contributed to the preservation of this unified style (Moldoveanu 1982: 887, 902; idem 1983: 607; idem 1986: 138–139; idem 1991: 124).

The adaptation and harmonisation in the national spirit of the Romanian church chants—be they from Wallachia, Transylvania or Banat—generated an autochthonous style of harmonic church music, consolidated in the twentieth

90 For example, in connection with the reform of the Three Teachers, Moldoveanu says: “Some [father I.D. Petrescu] maintain that this reform was a disaster for old church music, others claim that on the contrary it was a necessity imposed by objective causes. We think that both are right in a way. [...] It could be the result of a compromise made by the Church when faced with an avalanche of secular influences, as the musicologist O.L. Cosma very clearly intuit, but this is not something certain” (Moldoveanu 1982: 885–886).

91 Moldoveanu’s statement suggests that Romanian church music has a particular character not just because of its content, but also because it is the only one that *departed moderately* from neo-Byzantine music.

92 The term *calapod* (pl. *calapoade*) was previously used by Popescu-Pasărea for the set of elements that characterised a mode: “the scale, the tonic, the degree of cadence and the cadence formulae” (Popescu-Pasărea 1939b: 36, 38).

century. The beginnings of this style can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century, even if at that time the composers were employing a foreign type of harmonic and polyphonic treatment, and not the suitable type of harmonisation, namely the modal one (idem 1967: 273, 505–506, 516; idem 1983: 605–606; idem 1986: 138–139; idem 1991: 125).

A series of assertions draw our attention to the link between Romanian church music and the Romanian nation, in Moldoveanu's view. The translation of the chants (by Macarie) was "an important thing [...] for the Nation"; their printing was an action "with a national scope"; the creation of schools of church chanters and the introduction of harmonic music in the church were actions "of great national significance"; the experience of important events in Romanian history (the Revolution of 1848, the War of Independence) may have helped the chanters (such as Varlaam the hieromonk) develop a better understanding of the need to undertake the process of Romanianisation. Like Ciobanu, but more explicitly so, Moldoveanu associates the longevity of a piece with its national character: the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode of the *katavasies* by Macarie have remained unchanged "because they are the essence of the psychological essence [of the Romanian faithful], having digested in them the most refined popular influences", while the compositions of Podoleanu "became traditional and official in the Romanian Orthodox Church" because they were created "in a purely national spirit, based on the traditional chant of our Church, with and adequate harmonisation". The national spirit of some chants (among them, the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode by Macarie and various works by Pann) caused their selection and assimilation by the Romanian musical genius; conversely, the pieces of foreign origin acquired a national character after they were "assimilated and adapted to the type of sentiment and reception of the Romanian congregations". The role of the congregation in the process of Romanianisation is touched upon in other places as well: out of the wish to make certain chants more accessible to the faithful, Pann "sought to alter some chants to make them fit the old Romanian style"; the great *protopsaltes* of the nineteenth century had the ardent wish to sing in the language of their homeland next to their own people; the doxology by Ghelasie, "the most

beautiful, the most commonly sung and the most popular Doxology in the first plagal mode”, is sung today by all participants in the service; Popescu-Pasărea was “an ardent supporter of the ‘uniformisation’ and promotion of the *psaltic* (liturgical) chants among the masses. That was why he modelled and harmonised these chants in as simple a manner as possible [...] thus rendering them accessible” (idem 1967: 509; idem 1968: 276; idem 1982: 887–892, 897, 902, 905; idem 1985: 618; idem 1991: 122).

Moldoveanu believes that the core of church music was Byzantine up until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it started to acquire specifically national nuances. The nineteenth century, though, was the moment when church chanters imposed a powerful national imprint and created a new chant, unchanged until today. After Macarie and Pann, the general trend was to choose the simpler pieces for the compilations edited by church chanters, to modify the pieces according to the composers’ style, and to modify and shorten the longer chants. The Romanian chants that had been composed in the nineteenth century were passed on to the chanters of the twentieth, who continued to adapt and modify them to suit the style and taste of their age (idem 1979: 1222; idem 1982: 883, 887, 900, 904; idem 1985: 615).

Following in Cosma’s footsteps, Moldoveanu opines that Romanianised church chant was “a veritable Romanian tradition” and that Cuza’s action to replace it with harmonic music was noble in its intention—because it sought to emancipate church music from the Greek influence—but mistaken in practice, as it gave support “to foreign tendencies that did not observe our centuries-old church tradition”. Moldoveanu also adopts the division in three currents—which he labels the German-Italian, Italian-Russian and traditionalist current, respectively, this last one also described with the help of other qualifiers, such as *psaltic*, *Byzantine*, *Romanian*, *national*, and *modal*—, explaining that their influence is not very clearly delineated in the composers’ output. Moldoveanu pleads for the traditionalist current not just for nationalistic reasons, but also for religious ones: this current is in keeping with the music that is characteristic to the Romanian people, as well as with the character of the Orthodox service. The religious

argument distinguishes father Nicu Moldoveanu from the contemporary musicologists presented above, but this fact must be attributed primarily to the source, namely the religious magazine in which his article was published. The communist regime did not encourage the analysis of Christian art with reference to religious life; the only places where these references were allowed were the official church magazines (idem 1983: 606, 609, 623–624; idem 1986: 118, 138–139).

Moldoveanu offers no details on the Romanian style, whether of chanting or of harmonic music. We surmise that he shares the opinion that abundant melismas do not characterise it, since he speaks of a *megalynarion* “in a rather gorgonate style, but still very close to the Romanian spirit and taste”.⁹³ In contrast, the chromatic scales do not pose problems: the author appreciates the composers who did not shy away from harmonising chants in the second and plagal second modes and managed to preserve their chromatic character (idem 1982: 899; idem 1983: 613; idem 1986: 123; idem 1968: 284–285).

Moldoveanu was not too interested in the link between church music and Romanian folk music, mentioning it only in passing. This link appears to have been regarded as a rather positive one—Macarie’s *heirmoi* of the ninth ode had incorporated “the most refined popular influences”—, despite the fact that, in agreement with metropolitan Iosif Naniescu, he criticised the worldly influences in church chant (idem 1982: 891, 897, 915).

The assessment of chanters and composers of church harmonic music is usually in agreement with their assessment by other post-war musicologists. Moldoveanu emphasises a few places where he departs from these and brings to the fore certain chanters that had been mentioned less frequently before.

Moldoveanu thinks that Macarie the Hieromonk found “the most suitable formulae to stir the soul of the Romanian people”. His greatest merit is to have matched “the Romanian text to the Greek melodies in an unsurpassable manner”, while the adaptation of the chants (from the *Anastasimatarion*) “was not as servile

93 The *megalynarion* that Moldoveanu refers to was composed by Christodoros Georgiadis and adapted into Romanian by his disciple Ștefanache Popescu.

as it was often proclaimed”. Macarie was surpassed by Pann, “the most prominent figure of Romanian church music culture in the nineteenth century”. Unlike Macarie, Pann “did not seek to stay too faithful to the original Greek melodies”, was constantly preoccupied with “adapting the melodic line to the idea of the Romanian text” and eliminated the external figures of Greek-Turkish-Persian-Arabic origin, all of which are ideas we have already encountered in Ciobanu’s work. *The Idiomelar* by Suceveanu is labelled “his unsurpassed masterpiece”, and his chants are all built “on a Romanian church melody basis”, even if the origin of some of them is Greek. The pieces of reference that have come down to the present day are: the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode by Macarie the Hieromonk (“the most accomplished compositions of the skilful chanter, pieces of a rare melodic beauty”); “the traditional melodies of the Divine Liturgy: the *Typika* in the first plagal mode 1, the *Leitourgika* mode 1 plagal, *Our Father* mode 1 plagal, the Creed mode 1 plagal”, all composed by Anton Pann; the *megalyrnarion* by Georgiadis adapted by Ștefanache Popescu; the *megalyrnarion* mode 1 plagal and the *heirmos* of the ninth ode for the Resurrection, mode 3 (sic), by Varlaam; Ghelasie’s Doxology; the *polyeleos Robii Domnului* (Δούλοι Κύριον) by Ioan Zmeu; the *Leitourgika* by Iosif Naniescu, considered, next to Pann’s, “purely Romanian compositions” (idem 1982: 887, 889, 891, 896–899, 902, 905, 907, 913, 915; idem 1991: 144).

Among the first representatives of the traditionalist multivocal current, who initiated “the healthiest direction in church harmonic music”, Moldoveanu ranks Theodor Georgescu—whose *Pre Tine Te Lăudăm* (Σε υμνούμεν) “marks the beginning of the traditionalist current”; George Ionescu—the harmoniser of Pann’s *Leitourgika* and of Varlaam’s *megalyrnarion* in mode 1 plagal and of some chants in chromatic modes, a composer who was aware that *psaltic* melody was specific to the Romanians and that it required a special type of harmonisation; Alexandru Podoleanu—who created “church harmonic compositions in a purely national spirit, although based on the melody of the traditional chant” (among which *Christ Is Risen*, *Doamne miluiește întreit* (Κύριε ἐλέησον for Litany of Fervent Supplication), *Crucii Tale* (Τὸν σταυρόν σου) and others) and who “never

abandoned his clean style, derived from the perennial source of our *psaltic* chant, so well adapted to the psyche of the Romanian Orthodox believer”; Ioan Bunescu—who “worked tirelessly for the promotion of the *psaltic* harmonic music or at least close to *psaltic* chant”, with many compositions that show the influence of the *psaltic* style: *Kýrie eléison* for the Great Litany, *Typika*, *Veniți să ne închinăm* (*Δεύτε προσκυνήσουμε*), *Doamne mântuiește* (*Kýrie sósoun tous evsebeís*), *The Cherubic Hymn*. Gavriil Musicescu belongs to the same direction in his early compositions. D.G. Kiriak is given special praise: “a trail-blazer and a systematic initiator of the traditionalist music current”, with a “firm attitude against the foreign church style, imported stealthily into our Church”, who “never mistook the style of this [Western] music for the purely Romanian style”, although he had been schooled in Paris. Moldoveanu also ranges among the representatives of the traditional style Ion Popescu-Pasărea, who harmonised “as simply as possible” the *psaltic* chants in order to make them accessible to the modest possibilities of rural choirs; Teodor Teodorescu, who laid the bases “of a genuine Romanian style”; and Simeon Nicolescu, a harmoniser, among others, of several chants in chromatic modes (idem 1967: 509–510, 516–518; idem 1968: 273–277; idem 1983: 611–617, 624; idem 1986: 117–118, 123).

Sebastian Barbu-Bucur

Archdeacon Sebastian Barbu-Bucur (b. 1930) studied church music in schools of all levels, from junior school (the chanters’ school) to post-graduate, including a period at the Macedonian Conservatory in Salonika. A professor at the University of Music in Bucharest, in the post-communist era Barbu-Bucur became the most respected authority in the field of Byzantine music. His research focuses especially on the compositions of the Romanian chanters in the eighteenth century and he often discusses the problem of the Romanianisation of the chant (Ionescu 2003: 477–483).

Father Sebastian Barbu-Bucur defines Romanianisation as “the act of translating the text and adapting it to the Byzantine melodies and of adapting the

Greek melodies to the already translated Romanian text, their adaptation to the temperament and taste of our people in order to make them more easily understood or accepted”. Romanianisation implies “the adaptation to the features of the Romanian language and thought”, the language being the deciding factor in this process, because the language is the element that “gives its specific expression to a national music”. “The continued effort to find a match between the melodic line and the prosody and word order of the Romanian language” and “the stresses imposed by the language which are specific to Romanian feeling” led to the appearance of certain features that are specific to Romanian church chant and are recognised as such even by the Greek.⁹⁴ These features, along with the manner of interpretation, determine the unmistakable character (or specificity) of the Romanian church chant. Therefore, Romanianisation represents “the nationalisation of church chant”, according to Barbu-Bucur (Barbu-Bucur 1989: 124–125, 154, 234; idem 1992: x, xii; idem 1997: 70; idem 1999: 119; idem 2002a: 182; 2002b: 12; idem 2008: 27, 58).

Barbu-Bucur differs from Breazul and the post-war musicologists when it comes to folk music, and rural church music believed by them to have been replaced by the music of Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann.⁹⁵ For Barbu-Bucur, church music had been adopted as such from Byzantium and Mount Athos, and after the process of Romanianisation—against the background of the open conflict between the Romanian language and chant and the Greek language and chant—the result was “a Romanian music of Byzantine type” or “of Byzantine tradition”.⁹⁶ Barbu-Bucur attempts to give a poetic definition of the latter, based on

94 Barbu-Bucur mentions the observance of the *musicality* of the language in the process of Romanianisation (Barbu-Bucur 1989: 146, 154). He has probably borrowed the term from Gheorghe Ciobanu, but he does not explain what it means and makes no reference to musical intervals that are characteristic to the Romanian language, as Ciobanu did when he addressed the same topic.

95 Barbu-Bucur adopts nevertheless the view of O.L. Cosma that the new system brought over by Efesios (meaning by this a new music as well) represented “an affront to the national tradition”. (Barbu-Bucur 2008: 35).

96 Constantin Secară claims that Sebastian Barbu-Bucur introduced the label of *music of Byzantine*

one of the most powerful myths of the national identity, according to which the Romanian people, despite their troubled history, had always maintained their Christian faith: “The Romanian chant of Byzantine tradition is the sweet sigh of ancestral piety, it is something torn from the mixture of sorrow and joy of an oppressed people, who always found its guiding light in the three virtues: faith, hope and love.” Barbu-Bucur is not afraid to state that even before the Romanianisation of church music, Orthodox chant had played a role in defending the ethnic consciousness, since it was practised by all the Romanians, regardless of the political state whose subjects they were (idem 2002a: 182; idem 2002b: 12–13; idem 2008: 31–32, 58; idem 1989: 124, 233; idem 1997: 69; Chircev 2010: 90, 100).

Barbu-Bucur emphasises the connection between Byzantine chant before 1700 and during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, but he also mentions the secular influences of Turkish-Persian-Arabic musics in the melodies and the modal system of the second half of the eighteenth century. The process of Romanianisation unfolded in parallel with the evolution of Byzantine chant; it started out with the first texts in Romanian (in the sixteenth century) and had three phases.⁹⁷ The first phase included the translations in the old notation, belonging to Hieromonk Filothei (the first stage, when the original melody was respected and the Romanianisation was not done entirely) and to Mihalache and Iosif the Monk from Neamț (the second stage, after 1750, in which the Greek melody was adapted and “fitted” to the tonic stresses of the text, so that it could be said to belong to the Romanian chanter; the adaptation of the melody to the Romanian text is also made obvious by the fact that it has been kept until the present day.) The second phase belonged to Macarie and Pann, and the third started with Suceveanu and ended with Popescu-Pasărea. The features of the style and of the interpretation—the

tradition to denote post-Byzantine music in the entire Christian East (Secară 2006a: 154).

97 Usually Barbu-Bucur refers to three phases of Romanianisation, but without enumerating them clearly. Where the enumeration is clear (Barbu-Bucur 1989: 95), he talks of four phases, the first being that of the chant in the Romanian language without musical notation (up to Filothei); see also idem 1992: x–xi.

components of the above-mentioned national character—were perfected in the second phase and consolidated in the last one⁹⁸ (Barbu-Bucur 1989: 95, 120, 146–147, 154, 168–170, 233–234; idem 2008: 29, 56–57; idem 1997: 71; Chircev 2010: 96–97).

The syllabic chants in *syntomon* style were those that most lent themselves to Romanianisation. Mihalache Moldoveanul, Naum Râmnicéanu and the representatives of the school of Neamţ, headed by Iosif the Monk, already showed preference for these at the end of the eighteenth century. The switch from the long chants to the fast ones is seen as a stylistic revolution—all the more meritorious as Mihalache achieved it before his teacher Petros Lampadarios—and an important step ahead, toward a Romanian music of Byzantine tradition.⁹⁹ The preference shown by the Romanian people for the fast chants is explained in a passage about the chants for feast days on Mount Athos: since the Greeks “did not understand the text,”¹⁰⁰ they developed the melody and constantly accompanied it with *teretismata*. The Romanians [...] when they chanted in Romanian, they understood the text—since the Romanian language was born in the church—and therefore, the Romanian church services for feast days are considerably shorter.” Thus, the rich ornamentation of chants is a solution when the text is incomprehensible, but not necessary when the text is understood. Consequently, the high ratio of fast chants became a characteristic of Romanian church music once the Romanian language became the liturgical language. Barbu-Bucur also offers an explanation that

98 In the foreword to the new edition of Suceveanu’s *Idiomelar*, Barbu-Bucur voices a slightly different opinion, stating that these components were perfected at the time of Suceveanu’s work, that is at the beginning of the third phase.

99 In an interview, Barbu-Bucur stated that Mihalache was the first chanter to make the switch from the long style to the fast style (*syntomon*, the syllabic style), in his *Anastasimatarion* written in 1767, before that of Petros Lampadarios. In the work on Mihalache edited in the same year, Barbu-Bucur mentions this as a hypothesis (Barbu-Bucur 2008: 39, 58, Chircev 2010: 96). Barbu-Bucur overlooks other *syntoma anastasimataria* previous to that by Petros (for instance, that of Daniil Protopsaltis).

100 Barbu-Bucur believes that the language of the liturgical texts was no longer understood by the Greeks of the modern era.

appeals to theology which opposes the Romanian chant, in keeping with the patristic tradition, to the Greek chant, nearer to showmanship: “if the Greek services have—often—got a theatrical aspect that is filled with pomp, the chants being long, with many lengthened syllables and ‘te-re-rem’, Romanian Orthodoxy is more introverted and meditative, observing the precepts of the Holy Fathers, so that the ‘te-re-rem’ are completely excluded and the text flows uninterruptedly, with the melody rendering the sense and the whole meaning of the words” (Barbu-Bucur 1989: 118–119, 170, 222; idem 1992: x; idem 2008: 58; Chircev 2010: 96, 98).

The increased ratio of fast chants versus melismatic ones meant a decrease in Turkish-Persian-Arabic influences, only found in the *papadic* chants. The Oriental influences also diminished as a consequence of the Chrysanthine reform—Barbu-Bucur shares the opinion according to which the Three Teachers set themselves the goal and partially achieved it of eliminating the secular Oriental elements from Byzantine chant—and of the activity of Romanianisation of Macarie the Hieromonk and his followers up until Ion Popescu-Pasărea (Barbu-Bucur 1989: 168, 170).

The names of the most important contributors to Romanian music of Byzantine tradition in the nineteenth century are the usual ones: first of all, Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann and Dimitrie Suceveanu, then Neagu Ionescu, Ștefanache Popescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea.¹⁰¹ The assertions made about the chanters of the nineteenth century are based on the opinions of Ciobanu, Cosma or Breazul and sometimes seem contradictory. Thus, in one of his works Barbu-Bucur notes that Macarie adapted the chant to the national melodic spirit, departing from the Greek melody and removing the foreign influences from it (cf. Ciobanu 1974f: 339, idem 1974a: 320), while in another work he insists that Macarie used the basic Greek melody and was not preoccupied with changing the music (cf. Cosma 1974: 85). Similarly for Anton Pann, in one article the author

101 I have not listed here Nectarie Schimonahul, to whom Sebastian Barbu-Bucur gives special attention—as does Vasile Vasile, the next musicologist in my analysis—, see footnote 33, chapter 3.

quotes the same characteristics of Romanianisation as those described by Ciobanu (“does not follow the Greek melodic line except in the broadest sense” etc.), while in another place, he thinks that Pann “was for the most part a faithful translator (more often than not) of the Greek originals”. Suceveanu is given a place at least as important as that of Macarie and Anton Pann. He is deemed to have been “perhaps the greatest chanter of the two Principalities”—on account of the large number of his compositions—and his *Idiomelar* is “the most important book of church music that the Romanians have”. The chants in this volume “can be taken as the fundamental basis for the present and the future in the art and the tradition of our church music”, while Suceveanu’s contribution to the process of Romanianisation is “huge”. Suceveanu “completely abandoned the Greek prosody and followed directly only a Romanian sentiment”. To the list of masterpieces of Romanian chant, Barbu-Bucur adds the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode by Macarie the Hieromonk (“the acme of Romanian chant”), especially that of the Resurrection (“if Macarie had written no other chant but this, he would still have rightly deserved the title of **father of the Romanian chant**”, emphases in the original); Psalm 102 by Nectarie Frimu (“a beautiful melodic recitative and an accomplished model of adaptation to the word order and musicality of the Romanian language”), the *Leitourgika* by Iosif Naniescu (“first in the top of all the *Leitourgika* in our literature, next to those by Anton Pann in first plagal mode”) and a series of chants whose value has been proved by their longevity as they have been maintained in use in church services to our day: the *megalynergia*, the *apolytikia* of the Resurrection and the *automela* by Macarie, the *katavasies* and the *stichera* in Pann’s *Anastasimatarion* (Barbu-Bucur 1975: 770; idem 1989: 95; idem 1992: ix–xii; idem 1997: 70–71; idem 1999: 119–120; idem 2004: 44; idem 2008: 34–35).

Barbu-Bucur broaches the question of harmonic music only once, in a commentary written for his doctoral thesis, later published as two articles (idem 1974; idem 1975). In general, the views expressed there are adaptations of the views expressed by Zeno Vancea—the existence of three currents (the Russian, the German and the original traditionalist one) in Romanian harmonic church music and the identification of the composers belonging to each current; the polyphonic

style, best suited to Romanian church music—and Nicu Moldoveanu (the presentation of Theodor Georgescu and George Ionescu). The commentary focuses on D.G. Kiriac, considered to have been the creator of a linear-polyphonic style “with a European outside, but a Romanian core”, a core that the composer had found in the “traditional Byzantine hymn”. Barbu-Bucur appears to appreciate the harmonisation of church chant by Kiriac, whose compositions “impart a new glow to the old church chants, giving them added beauty and intensity”. The *heirmos* of the Resurrection receives the highest praise: “it will remain for a long time a model of harmonisation of our church chants” (idem 1974: 696, 704; idem 1975: 763–766, 777).

Vasile Vasile

Vasile Vasile (b. 1941) studied music at the Seminary of Neamț Monastery and at the faculties of music in Jassy and Cluj. His musicological works are primarily monographies of Romanian musicians (cantors as well composers of art music), catalogues of manuscripts containing chants, studies of folk music and musical pedagogy. His most relevant work to the topic of this thesis is *Istoria muzicii bizantine* (“The History of Byzantine Music”), based on the course that Vasile taught for over a decade at the University of Music in Bucharest. The second volume of this work (Vasile 1997b) is dedicated to Byzantine music in the Romanian Principalities.

Byzantine music is for Vasile Vasile the traditional music of the Romanian Church. He states repeatedly that the diverse transformations of the chants in time—including their Romanianisation—were undertaken without touching their Byzantine style¹⁰² or altering their Byzantine core. Additionally, he shows that the study of the evolution of Byzantine music within the territories occupied by Romanians must not be tainted by a misunderstanding of the reform of the Three Teachers—such as the misunderstanding exhibited by some Romanian musicologists who saw a rift between the music before and the music after the

102 The Byzantine style is “established by the modes, the rhythms, the ornamentation, the genres, the forms, the cadences and their formulae and so on” (Vasile 1997b: 159)

reform¹⁰³—and he pleads for the adoption of the label *music of Byzantine tradition* for the chants using the new notation as well (ibidem: 21, 24, 167, 187; idem 2010: 54–55).

Vasile seldom uses cognates of the term *nation*,¹⁰⁴ and refers rather to *spirituality*. The music of Byzantine tradition—whether in its traditional or in its harmonised form—is a part of Romanian spirituality. Moreover, the chants can serve as a starting point for art works that can represent Orthodox and Romanian spirituality in the music of the world (idem 1997b: 260–261; idem 2010: 51).

Another term that is often employed by Vasile is *sensibility*, which is reminiscent of terms like *taste*, *spirit* or *genius* used by earlier musicologists. According to Vasile, bringing together the Byzantine chant and the Romanian sensibility had always been on the agenda of church chanters throughout history: Filothej the Monk from Cozia gave the *troparia* of Nikiforos Vlemmidis “a melodic aspect that was specific to the Romanian sensibility”;¹⁰⁵ Macarie the Hieromonk used the moment of the Chrysanthine reform to create a close rapport between Byzantine music and Romanian sensibility, while Suceveanu was the composer who achieved it in the most visible manner; the preference of some chanters for the *syntomon* style “is in keeping with the Romanian sensibility” (idem 1997b: 19–20, 105, 124, idem 2002: 180).

The Romanian sensibility and the Byzantine mould are the basic coordinates of the process of Romanianisation. Vasile defines it as “the complex process of creating a close rapport between Byzantine music and Romanian sensibility, without abandoning the Byzantine mould” (in other places, Vasile also

103 Vasile does not give any names, but the remark is no doubt directed towards Titus Moisescu, disciple of father I.D. Petrescu (cf. Moisescu 2003: 29–30, 36–42).

104 This is not to say that Vasile avoids these terms. For instance, he states that one of the most important things that Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann had in common was “their artistic faith in the strength of the national culture” (Vasile 1997c: 77), which in a different place is called “the faith [...] in the cause of the Romanianisation of Byzantine chants” (idem 1997b: 158).

105 Vasile mistakes here the verses from the psalms chosen by Vlemmidis for the third *stasis* of the *polyeleos* with the *pripēla* composed by monk Filothej for the same liturgical moment.

notes the closeness to the spirit of the Romanian language). The process unfolds on different levels and includes diverse actions: the translation of the texts, their interpretation, the composition of chants, the removal of Turkish influences from them, the strengthening of the position of the church chanters who used the Romanian language, the establishment of schools, the writing of handbooks and theoretical works, the adoption of a definitive terminology in Romanian. The stages of the process are in agreement with the phases described by Barbu-Bucur. Vasile discusses at length the first stage, before Filothei the Hieromonk: on one hand, he asserts the importance of the translation into Romanian of the texts and of their printing, as premises for the future phases, and shows that the adaptation of the Byzantine melody to the Romanian language had been practised for decades and perhaps centuries exclusively in oral form; on the other hand, he mentions that the accommodation to the Romanian sensibility was also achieved for chants on Slavonic or Greek texts—for instance, those of the monks Filothej from Cozia or Evstatie the *protopsaltis* of Putna Monastery (idem 1997b: v, 19–20, 45, 116–117, 133–170 (especially 134–135, 152–153, 156–161), 232–233; idem 1997d: 110).

The process of Romanianisation, in the opinion of Vasile Vasile, is of “equal importance to Romanian spirituality with the process of the creation of the literary language”. Just like the literary language that was fashioned from religious texts in Romanian, church music contributed to “the creation of a Romanian musical idiom”.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the chants—not just their texts, but also their music—influenced the emerging literary language, as proved by the special musicality of Eminescu’s poetry (idem 1997d: 105–106).

The Romanianisation of Byzantine music occasioned the expression of distinctive features of the Romanian people. Vasile believes that Romanianisation gave shape in some chants “to a unique specificity not encountered in the chants of the neighbouring Orthodox nations”. At the same time, Romanianisation is associated with “the crystallisation of a repertory with profound national features”

106 I tend to think that Vasile envisions here all of Romanian art music. Another possible reading is that Vasile envisions the compositions based on a Romanian foundation—distinguished from the Western one—in which Byzantine music and Romanian folk music are amalgamated.

(idem 1997b: 134, 214; idem 2010: 51; cf. idem 2002: 169).

Among the features that are specific to Romanian music, Vasile enumerates the reduced ambitus, the melody in conjunct motion, the modal oscillation, and the austere, concise and expressive style. The *syntoma* (syllabic, *heirmologic*) chants characterise mostly the Moldavian chanters—Theodosie Zotica (sixteenth century), Mihalache, Iosif the Monk and the school of Neamț, Nectarie Frimu—, but also to some extent the chanters in other regions (father Naum Râmnicăneanu, Anton Pann). Vasile also mentions other situations in which the Romanian chanters show their preference for more concise chants, but does not always explicitly link this preference with the Romanian sensibility: around the year 1700, in Romanian manuscripts only the *polychronismo*i still preserved the *papadic* (long) character, the rest of the chants being closer to the *sticheraric* style, while the Greek trend was to adorn melodies and to use ample chants with *kratimata*; the Hieromonk Ghelasie the Bessarabian wrote concise *dogmatika*, because he preferred the abbreviated formulae; when adapting a *cheroubikon*, Nectarie Frimu obtained a more concise variant than the Greek original and with a narrower ambitus; introducing the two-beat metre (Rom.: *tactul îndoit*), Ștefanache Popescu continued the process of simplification of the chants, without altering their Byzantine core and “returning to the quiet and sweet tone of Macarie”. The elimination of the *kratimata* and the melismas is linked with the preoccupation with concision, but also with ensuring “a more poignant unity” of the chant and avoiding the Turkish elements that some chanters—Greek ones, we read between the lines—had introduced in order to show off their virtuosity and elicit the admiration of their audience¹⁰⁷ (idem 1997b: 27–28, 50, 77, 82, 84, 117–118, 154–157, 164–165, 187; idem 1997c: 78; idem 2002: 170–171, 173–174, 180).

Vasile makes an inventory of the procedures used to Romanianise a chant, acknowledging that for the most part, they are those already described by Ciobanu and Barbu-Bucur. A first type of intervention sought to match the melody with the

107 Vasile states that the *teretismata* or *kratimata* were eliminated “almost completely”, but mentions their presence in works by Macarie the Hieromonk or Nectarie Frimu (ibidem: 103–104, 157; idem 2002: 171).

syllables and stresses of the Romanian text: “by widening, abbreviating, making changes, of stressed notes, of skips, of rhythms”. Other modifications—encountered in the subsequent phases of the process of Romanianisation—focused on the power of the chant to convey meaning: the chanter looked for the key words in the text and associated them with “inspired musical equivalences, many of them in keeping with the Romanian sensibility”. The greatest number of composition procedures used in the process of Romanianisation are found in original pieces and they determine “a similarity between the melody of the liturgical chant and that of folk songs”. Among these procedures, Vasile notes: “the parsimonious and efficient use of modulation, of the short modulatory passages and of the scales”—for example, in Pann: the alternating Ionian-Aeolian modes, specific to Romanian folk music, the preference for the *hisar* mode (identical with the minor folk mode with the heightened fourth degree), the short modulatory passages in the *Katavasies of the Presentation of the Lord* frequently encountered in Moldavian chants—and the closeness to the stanzaic form. Vasile points out that, beyond the appeal to the Romanian sensibility, the chanters took into account the fact that their adaptations were destined for the church service, being sung prayers (idem 1997b: 65, 107, 155, 160, 166–167; idem 1997c: 78; idem 1997d: 110).

Vasile makes a special mention of two triads of chanters who were involved in the Romanianisation of the chants in the nineteenth century: Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann, Dimitrie Suceveanu, then Ghelasie the Bessarabian, Nectarie Frimu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea. Vasile’s general assessment is in agreement with that of Gheorghe Ciobanu and his disciples: the first three are the most significant adapters; the works of Pann are more valuable than those of Macarie; among the procedures used by Pann for the Romanianisation of church chant some are “the accommodation of the melodies to the word order and the prosody of the Romanian language [...], the removal of excessive melismas and ornaments, as well as of unjustified chromatic inflexions, the simplification of the rhythm, [and] the infiltration of some elements that were specific to our [Romanian] folk music”.¹⁰⁸ Suceveanu achieved the best Romanianisation: “the

108 Vasile finds exaggerated Popescu-Pasărea’s remark that Pann had done adaptations of chants in

most visible match between the Byzantine melody and the poetic forms of the Romanian language and even of folk music”, and his *Idiomelar* is the “climax of expression in liturgical music and the maximum point of contact between the Byzantine type of melody and the Romanian sensibility [...] an achievement unrivalled to our day”. The qualities of the *Idiomelar* prompt Vasile to propose it as a starting point in the regeneration of Romanian religious music, not only in the Orthodox Church, but also in those belonging to other Christian denominations (idem 1997b: 117, 119, 124–128; idem 1997c: 73; idem 1997d: 110).

The chants that Vasile Vasile mentions as being representative for the process of Romanianisation are the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode for the Resurrection, of the Presentation of the Lord,¹⁰⁹ of the Nativity and the Epiphany, the *automela* by Macarie the Hieromonk; *Our Father*, the katavasies of the Entrance and of the Ascension, the Doxology in *hisar* mode, the *megalyrnarion* for the Liturgy of St. Basil by Pann; the *automela* and *polyeleoi* *La râul Vavilonului* (*Επί τον ποταμόν Βαβυλώνης*), *Cuvânt bun* (*Λόγον αγαθόν*) and *Robii Domnului* (*Δούλοι Κύριον*), the verses of the ninth ode to the Entrance of the Lord, the *Anoixantaria* and *Eothina* by Suceveanu. Besides these, Vasile also mentions among the most accomplished chants *Vai, mie, înnegritule suflete* (*Οίμοι, μέλανα ψυχή*)—unequalled, according to Vasile—,¹¹⁰ the Service of the Epitaphios, *Când slăviții ucenici* (*Ότε οι ένδοξοι μαθηταί*), *polyeleos Robii Domnului*, by Macarie; the *Leitourgika* and *Megalyrnarion* in mode 1 plagal, *Megalyrnarion* in *hisar* mode, the Creed, the long *Cheroubikon* in mode 1 plagal, *Mărturisiți-vă Domnului* (*Εξομολογείστε τω Κυρίω*), *Ziua Învierii* (*Αναστάσεως ημέρα*) by Anton Pann; the doxology by Ghelasie, Psalm 102 by Nectarie Frimu (“a representative work not only for the Moldavian chanter but also for our church music”), the *megalyrnaria* of Ștefanache Popescu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea previously mentioned by other

the genre of the Romanian *doină*.

109 The *heirmos* of Annunciation—previously praised by O.L. Cosma—and of the Presentation of the Lord differ only through the initial verse.

110 The same chant is mentioned by Gheorghe Ciobanu, in an anthology of Romanian music, as evidence of the uncommon artistic sense of the author (Ciobanu 1978: 150) and is described elsewhere as “a touchstone for any skilled chanter” (Nifon 1992: 6).

musicologists, and others (idem 1997b: 105–106, 118, 122, 162, 164, 166, 186).

For harmonic music, Vasile accepts the classification proposed by Zeno Vancea and later on by Titus Moisescu, but finds that it is sometimes difficult to classify a composer in a single current. Perhaps for this reason, he chooses to enumerate the compositions based on the Byzantine melody and to label their authors *supporters* of the current of Byzantine tradition. Among these compositions, Vasile ranges works by Podoleanu (close to “the monodic style practised in the Orthodox church service”), a *megalyrnarion* and a motet (sic), *Cu noi este Dumnezeu* (Μεθ ημῶν ο Θεός), by Anastasescu (“models of arranging a Byzantine melody”), a liturgy “based on quotes of Byzantine origin” by Ionescu, *Pre Tine Te lăudăm* (Σε υμνούμεν) by Georgescu, “harmonisations of traditional tunes, based on Byzantine modes” by Musicescu, “some Byzantine-style chants, arranged for choir” by Bunescu, next to some “[by] paler supporters of the current” such as the works of Bănulescu and Mugur. Podoleanu is especially appreciated by Vasile, who praises the composer not only for his works, but also for his public attitude opposing the foreign spirit in harmonic church music. Vasile pays special attention to Kiriac and Teodorescu, each having composed a liturgy that “wholly represents a masterpiece in its genre”. Both works are praised for their Byzantine content and its suitable harmonisation. Kiriac is praised for “the most suitable harmonic treatment with elements of counterpoint derived from the antiphonal chant, the construction of the counter-melodies in the style of cantus firmus, and the preservation of the mobility of some degrees of the modes etc”.; Teodorescu, for the pedals in fifths and eighths that evoke the style of the *isokrates* and for the counterpoint procedures that enhance the expression of the melody. In another context, the two are ranked among the composers who had a special relationship with the national character of church music and who integrated Byzantine music “in works that are representative for the Romanian spirituality” (idem 1997b: 241–247, 250–253; idem 1997d: 111).

CONCLUSIONS

Definition

Almost all the authors analysed in this chapter accept the existence of a national Romanian church music. Some—a handful—even use the label *national chant*, others speak of the national character of Romanian music or about the process of nationalisation it underwent.

The label of *national chant* is sometimes replaced with that of *Romanian chant*, although not always. *Romanian chant* can refer to the *chant as practised in the territories inhabited by Romanian*, to that *practised by the Romanians* (as opposed to the Greek or Russian nationals residing in the Danubian Principalities), *composed by Romanian authors, on Romanian texts, in Romanian style* etc. For pre-war authors, *Romanian church music* is first and foremost *church chant in Romanian*. Toward 1900, the label receives the added connotation of a *specifically Romanian manner to chant (and compose)*, which becomes a denotation for some authors in the twentieth century. This semantic shift indicates the shift in the interest paid by musicologists to different aspects: the use of the Romanian language in church chant was the centre of attention in the pre-war period, and the endowment of the chant with distinctly Romanian elements, in the post-war period.

The same shift also affected the notion of *national chant*. For the first authors analysed here, Romanian chant (i.e. chant in Romanian) is a national type of music. It is national because it is popular and it has identified with the Romanian taste; in other words, it is the music that most Romanian nationals accept and trust. It was obtained by adapting and modelling the Constantinopolitan chant, an effort in which many chanters participated, beginning with Macarie the Hieromonk, and by the wide circulation of their works in the churches of the Danubian principalities. At the beginning of the twentieth century, all of these actions are grouped together by certain authors under the umbrella term of *nationalisation*.

Around 1900, the interest for the national character begins to grow. Bishop Nifon talks about a national character of the church chant, already extant before

the first printing of the Romanian liturgical books. The context is not very clear, but it is possible that Nifon envisioned the existence of the Romanian national character in the chant in Slavonic. In the inter-war period, the national character of church music is usually identified with that present in peasant music. There are also different opinions: Galinescu makes a clear distinction between peasant music and church music, even though the latter was “deeply rooted in the soul of the people”, and Poslușnicu overlaps somewhat the national character with the Orthodox one. Also in the interwar period, Ion Popescu-Pasărea distinguishes the nationalisation of the chant—defined by him as identification with the national spirit of the time and achieved only by Anton Pann—from other efforts such as modelling and Romanianisation, the latter done by Macarie the Hieromonk. After the war, the term *nationalisation* is replaced with *Romanianisation*, the two being from then on roughly synonymous.

Thus, the answer to the question “What is national church music in the minds of the authors analysed in this chapter?” begins with their views on the relationship between Romanian chant and the members of the nation, on the presence of the national character (of national features), on the process of nationalisation and other assertions concerning Romanian chant. For many authors before the communist era, Romanian national church music exists, but is still under construction; after the war, the general trend is to see it as a finished construction. National church music is the music adapted by Macarie the Hieromonk and other chanters, but it must be cultivated and developed, and this includes harmonic music. Harmonic choirs are part of national music as long as they are based on the national monodic chant; although necessary, they need not completely replace *psaltic* chant.

The nineteenth century is seen as the period when national church music was virtually created, even if some authors agree that a national church music already existed in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries or even earlier. George Breazul adopts a unique position, since for him the genuine national chant was the rural one before Macarie and Pann, a view that was partially embraced by some post-war musicologists as well (Ciobanu, Cosma).

The relationship between church music and the Romanian nation

The authors analysed in this chapter saw a close relationship between church music and the Romanian nation. Depending on the author, the former was seen as a national product; a part of the national patrimony, of the culture of the people, or of Romanian spirituality; a national treasure; or a product of Romanian genius. Church music ought to reflect the nation; it was identified with the Romanian taste and melody; it expressed the Romanian character, the Homeland and the Romanian temperament; the soul of the people was reflected in it. The nation should create a distinct style in church music too. Because the Romanian people were Latin, the melody ought to receive a polyphonic aspect; in addition, because they lived in the Orient, their church music should have a Western-Eastern sound. Because a nation meant uniformity, it was necessary to ensure uniformity in national church music as well.

Conversely, church chant contributed to the consolidation of the nation: it nurtured the nationalism of the people, it strengthened the national sense, and it played a role in defending the ethnic consciousness. It also contributed to the creation of the national language and of a Romanian musical idiom. Consequently, the members of the nation owed a debt of gratitude to those who made national church music their job.

For the most part, the national character of church music was not ranked as more important than its religious character. Sometimes, the religious character was given a national role: Romanian chants were sacred, in contrast with the Greek ones (Petrescu, Melchisedek) or with the Western ones (Ștefănescu), and the Orthodox character of the chant was part of its national character (Poslușnicu). Around World War II, the national character was regarded as taking precedent over the religious one; this was happening in a political context in which nationalism was not only a widespread ideology, but also a well-represented political force (Popescu-Pasărea). The same view also prevailed during the communist era, when the Church was seen as an obstacle to Romanianisation (Ciobanu, Cosma). After the end of the communist regime, the relationship between church and nation is

viewed in a new light, influenced by ecumenism: Vasile suggests that the *Idiomelar* by Suceveanu, the top creative work of the national church music, should also be used by non-Orthodox Romanians; consequently, the national character is considered stronger than the uni-denominational church character, because it extends beyond the strictly Orthodox framework (unlike the predominant view before World War II, when the Orthodox element was seen as characteristic to the Romanian nation).

The characteristics of Romanian church music and its relationship with other musics

The first authors investigated here discern a series of attributes of Romanian church music: simplicity, sweetness, clarity, smoothness, piety, good taste, progress. They find these qualities in the work of Macarie the Hieromonk—in their opinion, the most representative chanter and composer of Romanian church music—but not in Greek music, where according to them, these features are non-existent or considerably reduced. Additionally, the secular character and the lack of rhythm are characteristics of Greek Church music that are absent from Romanian chant.

As the Romanian state became stronger and the nation developed an increased self-confidence, musicologists became more interested in defining a Romanian church music on the basis of their own national features, and the comparison with other musics—mainly that of the Greeks—became a secondary preoccupation. These features were sought in Romanian folk music: the harmonic minor mode with the mobile seventh degree or *the national melody of the first plagal mode* (Popescu-Pasărea); the intervals of major second, minor third and perfect fourth and the absence of skips (Ciobanu and partially Cosma); the chantable structure, the melody constructed on the basis of a succinct thematic cell, the rhythmic variety, the diatonicism, the flexible architecture, the rich but not excessive ornamentation (Cosma); the alternating modes and the utilisation of scales encountered in traditional music (Vasile). Almost all the authors who wrote after World War II assumed that there was a connection between Romanian

peasant music and church music, whether in toto or in some of its most accomplished pieces (usually attributed to Pann). Also, the Canon of Palm Sunday, deemed by bishop Melchisedek a relic of Slavonic chant, gradually became characteristic for the music of the Romanians (Luca), purely Romanian (Nifon), and in the post-war period, accepted as having been influenced by folk music, with a Romanian melody.

The Constantinopolitan origin of Romanian church music is accepted by most authors, but there are also a few who support the Oriental character of Romanian chant. In contrast, the majority considers that the Oriental features, apparent in Greek chants, are not specifically Romanian and they link the construction of the national music with the elimination of these features. With father I.D. Petrescu's work as starting point, post-war musicologists discern the influence of Turkish-Persian-Arabic musics on the *papadic* style during the period of the Phanariotes, an influence made visible in the ornamentation and modal scales. Also, they believe that in the adaptations done in the nineteenth century, the Turkish elements were removed, but not the Greek ones, even if their number decreased. The Oriental modes are not always defined: while Ciobanu and others enumerate a few *maqamat*, most post-war authors think that the chromatic genre in its entirety is specifically Oriental. Similarly, the external figures lose their original meaning and become equated with a rich ornamentation. Simultaneously, Ciobanu's successors reach the conclusion that the concise style is an inherent feature of Romanian chant, which explains the reduction of the ornaments, the elimination of the melismas and the *kratimata*, and the preference for the *syntoma* versions.

National music is also differing from Western music, be it Russian, German, Italian, or "universal" in style. With few exceptions, the authors do not focus on these foreign features, but simply state their existence in the works of Romanian composers. In contrast, vocal arrangements are unanimously appreciated, and several authors link harmonic music with the Romanian nation: multivocal music is better suited to the Romanian people as part of the Latin family (Petrescu, Onciul); church choirs help the progress of the nation

(Poslușnicu); the musical conception of the Romanians is linear, therefore the arrangements must be polyphonic, not functional-harmonic (Vancea); the adequate harmonisation of Romanian traditional chant is the modal one (Moldoveanu).

The history of the national church music, personalities and monuments

When they discuss the history of the national church music, the authors analysed here are mostly preoccupied with *psaltic* chant. The histories authored by pre-war musicologists investigate the adaptation into Romanian of the church chant and the manner in which the Romanian version achieved circulation nation-wide. The first extensive history, authored by bishop Melchisedek, describes two types of chant, the Slavonic and the Greek, which were “applied” to the Romanian texts from the seventeenth century onwards. Romanian chant was the result of these “applications”, in the version noted and made available by Macarie the Hieromonk and other successive cantors. After the war, the opinions became more diversified. The authors who were more closely connected with the Western world looked at Romanian chant as part of the broader framework of Byzantine chant, which they saw as slowly declining after the fall of Constantinople and for whose regeneration they pleaded. Those who were more attuned to the national idea saw the history of church music as a bringing together of Byzantine chant and Romanian folklore. Simultaneously, the interest in the early Christian period on the territory of Romania was renewed, possibly due to the intense preoccupation of contemporary historians with the civilisation of the Dacians. Poslușnicu and Popescu-Pasărea propose a classification of historical processes in four stages—that of the first Christian millennium, the Slavonic, the Greco-Oriental and the Romanian stage—, regarding each of the two branches described by Melchisedek as a distinct era. A related approach is that of Onciul, who distinguishes among four distinct layers that are present in Romanian chant.

The histories written in the post-war years all follow the thread of the process of Romanianisation. In its broad sense, the term refers to the imposition of Romanian chant in the church, and in a restricted sense, to the matching of the

Byzantine melody to the Romanian text. While Ciobanu sees the process as a technical matter of musical composition, the other authors also see it as governed by ethnic and aesthetic criteria: it is a purging of Oriental influences, an adaptation to the taste and the temperament of the people, and a rendering closer to the Romanian sensibility and the spirit of the Romanian language.

The history of the national harmonic church music is roughly the same throughout the period under investigation. Our authors agree that multivocal church music should be based on the traditional church chant, that during the nineteenth century the dominant currents were essentially foreign, and that the direction opened by D.G. Kiriac, Ionescu and Teodorescu was the national one. Their opinions on where to range one composer or another are not unanimous. For Poslușnicu, the list of those who fought to replace Russian music with Romanian music includes all the important composers, even those usually seen as belonging to the Russian or the German school: Cartu, Musicescu, Flechtenmacher, Wachmann and others. At the other end of the spectrum, Popescu-Pasărea voices the opinion that even the works of Kiriac, Ionescu, Anastasescu and others deviated from the *psaltic* style, while Zeno Vancea ranges Podoleanu, Bunescu, Bănulescu and Georgescu, considered by others to be representatives of the traditional *psaltic* current, among the composers of the Russian school.

The heroes of national church music are Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann. The light in which they are seen differs radically from one period to the next. In the pre-war period, the adaptations done by Macarie were considered to be the best, in keeping with the Romanian taste and the character of the church, purged of the Turkish elements in Constantinople chant, while the work of Pann—an admirer of the Greek—contained many inappropriate formulae, unusual cadences and exaggerated skips, external figures and motifs that are foreign to Romanian music. Pann was seen as slightly better by Alexandru Luca, who linked his activity with the interest in the Romanian folk music, but the “reversal of fortune” did not occur until the interwar period, when Popescu-Pasărea considered Macarie a faithful adapter of the Greek chants, while Pann had done free adaptations and had identified with the national spirit of his time, purging the

external figures reminiscent of the Asian ones and bringing them closer to the church style. The change in the hierarchy and the opinions of Popescu-Pasărea were borrowed by post-war musicologists, who added amongst the meritorious actions of Pann the masterful employment of rhetorical formulae, the shortening of the chants and their adaptation to the musicality of the Romanian language.

A spectacular ascent was that of Dimitrie Suceveanu. Appreciated by many authors, even called the best chanter in Moldavia, Suceveanu had for a long time been placed at some distance behind Macarie and Pann. Popescu-Pasărea was the first to put all three next to one another—in only one article dictated by circumstance—and to express the view that his *Idiomelar* was the most important volume of Romanian church music. Breazul and the post-war musicologists adopted Popescu-Pasărea's view and went even further, with Barbu-Bucur and Vasile placing him at the top of the hierarchy.

The most appreciated pieces are Macarie's *heirmoi* of the ninth ode of the *katavasies*, especially that of the Resurrection, also in the version harmonised by Kiriak. The pieces by Pann that are praised by Popescu-Pasărea—the *Leitourgika*, the Creed, *Our Father* and others—are mentioned as reference works by many post-war authors, who also mention the fast *katavasies*. Next to these, among the examples of Romanian chants, several authors cite the Palm Sunday Canon by Hieromonk Filothei, the *megalynaria* for the ninth ode in the *Katavasies* of the Presentation of the Lord by Suceveanu,¹¹¹ Psalm 102 by Nectarie Frimu, the doxology of Hieromonk Ghelasie and the *megalynarion* by Ion Popescu-Pasărea.

111 Bishop Nifon wrongly attributes them to Macarie the Hieromonk.

CHAPTER 4: A CRITICAL READING OF SOME COMMON OPINIONS ON ROMANIAN NATIONAL CHURCH MUSIC

In the previous chapter I have presented the opinions of a few researchers on Romanian national church music. I have shown that most researchers considered that this music had some relatively well-defined traits which distinguished it from church musics of other nations. Moreover, some of the writers observed that these traits took shape or were consolidated as a consequence of the adaptation of the Constantinople chant into Romanian, especially in the nineteenth century. In this chapter I shall probe the validity of the affirmations about the traits of the Romanian chant and the process of Romanianisation.

I shall discuss with the opinions stated by more than a single researcher, leaving aside isolated opinions. I shall only pay attention to statements that can be validated or invalidated by researching written sources (mainly by analysing scores), such as assertions regarding characteristic intervals in Romanian chants, the preference for concise chants, eliminating the chromaticisms, melismas, and *kratimata* during the process of Romanianisation etc. I shall neglect affirmations whose validation requires a sociological methodology (interviews, polls etc.), such as those about the sweetness and good taste of the Romanian chant or the necessity of a modal harmonization of the national chant.

I shall mainly analyse the pieces regarded as outstanding for the national chant or for the process of Romanianisation.

Before tracing each of the traits presumed as characteristic for the Romanian church music, I shall discuss a few affirmations on Romanianisation which musicologists claim to be based on the writings of the main adaptors, Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann.

ABOUT ROMANIANISATION IN THE FOREWORDS OF MACARIE THE HIEROMONK AND ANTON PANN¹

The forewords of chant books issued by Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann were frequently quoted by many of the authors examined in the previous chapter.² The most frequently mentioned of them are those that include a historical essay in the *Heirmologion* of the former (Macarie 1823b: iii–xiv) and the main theoretical volume of the later (Pann 1845: xviii–xxxiv [xl]),³ as well as a small poem dedicated to Romanian chanters by Pann (idem 1847a, 1: vii–viii [unnumbered]). I shall discuss in this subchapter the problematic passages referring to Romanianisation in the forewords of the two chanters. I shall present some of the more frequent misinterpretations, in my opinion, and I shall try to give a better interpretation to the original texts. I shall not mention all the authors who support the standpoints discussed, and I shall confine myself to those who referred to the problem for the first time or in a very clear manner.

Adaptation to „Romanian tone” (Rom.: *tonul românesc*)

Anton Pann refers to the way he adapted Greek chants in a passage of the aforementioned poem dedicated to Romanian chanters:

“But I translated in this way: I did not take it all verbatim

As I see others do, who do not reduce even an *Oligon*.

But I paid attention to the *ton* of Romanian uttering (Rom.: *zicerilor*)

And I suited the saying (Rom.: *glăsuirea*) as in natural speech”⁴ (ibidem: viii).

¹ This subchapter was previously published in a slightly different form as Moisil 2010a.

² The forewords were transliterated and published in Buzera 1999b: 266–277, 280–285, 289–304, 308–311, 315–320, 324–328. Macarie’s foreword from Macarie 1823b also appeared in Ciobanu 1978: 231–235, and that of Pann 1845 in Buescu 1985: 106–124.

³ This volume is the translation of the theoretical work of Theodoros Fokaeus, with a few elements from *Mega Theoritikon* of Chrysanthos (Buzera 1999a: 51–57; cf. Φωκαεύς 1842, Χρύσανθος 1977).

⁴ *Zicere* and *glăsuire* may equally refer to *saying* or *singing*.

Octavian Lazăr Cosma ascribes to the word *ton* the meaning of “tone” and interprets the fragment in the following way: “Declaring that all his labour was guided by ‘the tone of the Romanian uttering’, Anton Pann shows that, in his work as a translator, he selected only those chants that corresponded to the way of being and sensitivity of the Romanian people. Only suiting the chant with ‘natural speech’ was considered a legitimate activity” (Cosma 1975: 143).

Discussing the same passage, Ion Popescu-Pasărea states that Pann “made a free translation, not a servile one; he round off, polished, simplified and adapted the chant according to Romanian uttering and expression”⁵. Popescu-Pasărea considers that in the fragment “I did not take it all verbatim / As I see others do, who do not reduce even an *Oligon*”, Pann alluded to Macarie, whose translations had the drawback of being faithful to the original (Popescu Pasărea 1930b: 6; idem 1930a: 13–14).

Cosma and Popescu-Pasărea share the same vision, even though the later expresses it less clearly: Pann’s act was an adaptation to a particular Romanian way of *vocalising*, of raising and lowering the voice, an adaptation which was better fulfilled by Pann than by Macarie. Moreover, Cosma puts this particular way of vocalising in connection with the Romanian sensitivity.

In my opinion, Pann refers to a pure technical problem, without any connection to a presumed typical Romanian sensitivity. *Ton* (pl.: *tonuri*). is here an archaism, coming from the Greek word *τόνος*, and it has to be understood as “stress”. The term is encountered with the same meaning in a few places with Pann: „Matache [...] rectified [the translation of Lamentations for Holy Saturday] as much as he could, [but] he took more care of the number of syllables than of the *tonuri*”; „I replaced the *Automela* by other *troparia* identical with the Greek ones with respect to rhythms [i.e. feet] and *Tonuri*”; „but the craft [of a musician] could be judged by anyone who knows Grammar, that is: from the singing (Rom.: *glăsuire*) of the *theseis* (Rom.: *Propoziții*) by paying attention to the last,

⁵ It is possible that Popescu-Pasărea referred to Pann only in the end of the quote (“adapted the chant according to Romanian uttering and expression”), while previous affirmations might have another source, e.g. the comparison of chants.

penultimate, and antepenultimate *tonuri*”; „many have tried to translate Church chants, but the only thing they did was to remove syllables in the foreign language and put instead the syllables in Romanian; and in the melody, if there were not enough syllables (where the text was shorter in Romanian), they completed with vocals; and if there were syllables in excess (where the text was shorter [in Greek]), they crowded the syllables in the same place, or they thread them in monotony [i.e. on the same pitch], or having the *ton* of the melody in a place and the *ton* of the saying in other”⁶ etc. (idem, quoted in Băbuș 2002: 91–92; Pann 1854a: 1; idem 1841: iv; idem 1845: vi–vii, xxxv–xxxvi, xxxix [xl]). Some more examples with Macarie the Hieromonk: „Now I present to you, my beloved [reader], the *Heirmologion* as I promised, with the thorough elaboration of both the Tone of words and the proper construction of the Melody [...]. So that you should not find it any less worthy than the Greek one, but in all respects more adorned, in no way altering the flow of the Melody or the structure of the word, which, in all its parts, in all its fullness, ought to be preserved. In everything I preferred the structure of the word, because placing the very same signs on a word which becomes twice as long or as short as the Greek one is foolish, for this is how the Tone of the word falls for them and this is how it is written, and in cases where many do not follow the *proshomoion* (i.e. *automelon*), the elaboration is done according to the Tone of the word, and not according to the flow of the *proshomoion*. Moreover, to alter the flow of the Melody because of the length or shortness of the word, is un-feeling, completely wrong and a sin”⁷ and others (Macarie 1823b: vi; Popescu 1915: 803; idem 1916: 1106).

The texts above point to the main problem of the translator⁸: on the one hand, he needs to preserve the original melody; on the other hand, he needs to change the melodic phrase according to the number of syllables (where the latter

⁶ Two lines from this fragment are missing in Buescu 1985.

⁷ A line and a half are missing from the variants transliterated in Ciobanu 1978 and Buzera 1999b.

⁸ Anton Pann mentions that the adaptation should observe the word order and the use of rhetorical devices as well (Pann 1845: xxxvi).

is different from that of the Greek original) and the position of the syllable stress. The grammatical stress of the text has to correspond—according to some norms that the two chanters do not detail — with the metrical ones of the melody.⁹ Also, Pann refers to the fact that certain melodic formulae require the stress on the last syllable of a word; other formulae, require the stress on the last but one syllable; others again, on the last but two.¹⁰

If the translator decided to faithfully obey the Greek *automelon*, he has to make sure that the Romanian text corresponds to the Greek one not only regarding the number of syllables (as Matache did for the Lamentation *troparia*), but also regarding the position of the stressed syllables (as Pann did for the *proshomoia* in the *Heirmologion*). Macarie the Hieromonk mentions the fact that, in Greek, there are *proshomoia* that are different from the model in these respects; in this case, it is natural for melodic differences between the model and the copy to appear, since the stress of the word comes first. Macarie shows that for his adaptations, he adopted the principle of the priority of laying the stress: “In everything I preferred the structure of the word”.

Hence, Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann discuss in the texts mentioned the same method of adapting the chants: altering the original melody where the Romanian text is different from the Greek one on stress and number of syllables. Just as Macarie, Pann shows that he wanted to preserve the original melody in his adaptations: “the Chants are the same and the melody is the same, I did not add one single figure” (Pann 1845: xxxviii).¹¹ Hence, the quote commented upon by Cosma, does not indicate a desire to draw the chant closer to a certain Romanian sensibility, and the suggestion that Popescu-Pasărea assumes

⁹ For metrical stress and the division of a piece in metrical feet (*rhythms*, according to Pann’s terminology), see, for instance, Παναγιωτόπουλος 2003: 156–169; Καράς 1982: 157–164.

¹⁰ The connection between stress and cadence formulae will be discussed in Chapter 5.

¹¹ The desire of keeping the melody unchanged, expressed by Pann and Macarie, is in keeping with the appreciation or the accusations of other musicologists, mentioned in Chapter 3 (Popescu, Breazul and others, including Cosma), according to whom the adaptations of the two chanters did not move away from the Greek music.

does not actually refer to Macarie, but to other translators who disregarded the method discussed above.

The lack of appreciation for the Greek chanters' compositions

According to Mihail Poslușnicu, “Petros Peloponnisios, also surnamed Lampadarios, introduces the lay spirit of the chant to the Romanian principalities. Thus, one starts to hear in church secular tunes, different serenades that echoed on the Bosphorus waters, called *manele* and *taksimler*. [...] There was no way Macarie could stand the foreign tune, especially the Greek one from the patriarchate, and neither could he stand the pretentious respectable faces of the foreign singers” (Poslușnicu 1928: 28, 34).

The opinions of other church music historians are more nuanced than those of Poslușnicu, but the idea of some major differences between the Greek chant from the 18th–19th centuries (possibly represented by Petros Lampadarios) and the Romanian national chant (usually represented by Macarie the Hieromonk and Pann) is to be found with many of the writers analysed in the previous chapter, starting with Ioanne Dem. Petrescu and ending with Vasile Vasile. These support their assertions with the acid accusations which Macarie the Hieromonk brings to the Greeks in general and to the contemporary Greek chanters in particular. My opinion is that approaching the Hieromonk's assertions about the Greeks “as a whole” may lead to the wrong conclusions and that an analysis focusing on presenting the Greek chanters and their compositions in Macarie the Hieromonk's and in Anton Pann's prefaces is necessary.

Both Macarie and Pann present a historical sketch of the church chant, adapted from those of Chrysanthos (1832) and Fokaeus (1842). Pann's history is rather neutral, although several times he speaks highly of the Greek chanters: “John Koukouzelis, who was also called *maistor*, and who was indeed a great Teacher”; “Others, being later perfectly educated in Persian music, adorned their *mathimata* with style, as can be seen in Petros Bereketis' *Papadike* and in Neon Patron's *Sticherarion*; they followed nevertheless the way of their forerunners, whose inheritors they were”; “Petros Peloponnisios Lampadarios [...] having complete knowledge of Persian music as well, through the delightful melodies of

the external ones, adorned his poems so beautifully that I believe none other could have stretched further”; “Petros Vyzantios Lampadarios, being a true student of Petros Peloponnisios Lampadarios, in the *papadic* lessons, beautifully set his poems to music” and so on. For Pann, the knowledge of Persian or European music is to be admired, and the use of external figures in church music—more precisely in *mathimata*—is not a flaw (Pann 1845: xxiii–xxv).

If Pann’s history has mainly an informative role, that of Macarie the Hieromonk is conceived as an argument for the principle of adaptation discussed in the previous part. We mentioned that, for Macarie, an adaptation that does not obey both the melody and the words is “un-feeling, completely wrong and a sin”. Macarie shows in his history that the music and the text of the hymns were inspired by the Holy Spirit and that these were kept until and transmitted to his times: “God’s grace has guarded the Holy Church Chants and the same grace will forever guard them unswervingly”. The Greek chanters kept these hymns unchanged—although they changed their notation¹² several times—, but they also added others: “Petros Glykis Bereketis, [...] forever blessed, did not change in any way the meaning of the Holy Fathers’ path. For, so much devotion and love for God and for the Most Holy Mother of God did the forever remembered chanter have, that all his life, he did not sing anything without tears, both in church and when he would teach or compose his *mathimata*, which were sweeter than honey and the honeycomb, that the many tears that fell from the eyes of the forever Remembered, left marks on the edges of the glasses that he would always wear”; “Ioannis and Daniil, *Protopsaltes* of the Great Holy Church [...], forever remembered as well, obeyed the old ways in every respect, like the apple of their eyes”; “Chrysanthos the Bishop, Grigorios Protopsaltis and Chourmouzios Skevofylax [...] changing all books according to this Method, both of the first Holy Fathers, and of all the old and new Cantors, without Destroying the Melody in the least, both of the old ones, and of the new ones, whose memory may forever be with us, from generation to generation, like those who brought light and glow

¹² For the testimonies regarding the stenographic notation and the simplification of Medio-Byzantine writing at Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann, see Moisl 2009: 61.

and who discovered this useful science” (Macarie 1823b: viii–ix).

Macarie distinguishes between the old and new chants and shows that the latter have become less and less “deep in meaning”, the process of simplifying starting since the time of Chrysafis the New. Although the new hymns do not equal the old ones, Macarie the Hieromonk does not criticise these; he does not even criticise those of Petros Lampadarios, “the one who, more than any other, added to the new hymns, and the difference from the old ones was plenty” and in whose compositions one can find brief loans from the secular music, “stepping a little outside the path of the old, and mingling a few foreign elements in his *mathimata*” (ibidem: vii–x).

Macarie’s criticisms are directed against the chanters—“most of them nowadays”, “close to all of them”—who, beside church hymns, sing secular songs in church: “songs and a mixture of *peşrevler*” and “even those that the Turks sing in cafés, and in their gatherings”.¹³ Hence, Macarie clearly distinguishes between the old church chants and the new ones, including those of Petros Lampadarios (even those that contain some lay influences) on the one hand and the secular chants that had of late pervaded the church (“new chants and the pronunciation of Tsarigrad, new chants and the Tsarigrad style”) on the other hand. While Petros *stepped a little outside the path of the old*, his followers did not pay heed to the rules: “they have completely taken them out”. It is worth mentioning that Macarie the Hieromonk does not make the distinction based on an ethnic¹⁴ criterion, but on a spiritual one: church music and secular music, the latter comprising both the Ottoman classical music (the *peşrev*, for instance) and the one sung in less honourable contexts (ibidem: ix–x).

¹³ The distinction that Macarie the Hieromonk makes between the Greek chanters is noticed, for instance, by Vasile Vasile: “despite their reaction, sometimes harsh, against the Greek chanters, they [Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann and Dimitrie Suceveanu] *were not some xenophobes*. Their attitude must be regarded as a natural reaction against impostors and histrions” (Vasile 1997b: 159, emphases in the original).

¹⁴ In those times, the term *Türk* also had the connotation *Muslim*. The Turkish music that Macarie the Hieromonk refers to is disturbing not so much because it is a non-Romanian music, but because it is a non-Christian music.

In order to understand where the confusion between Petros' church hymns and those incriminated by Macarie the Hieromonk originated, let us examine the causes which allowed the latter to pervade the church music. A first cause would be the acceptance of lay chants by the believers, who had gotten used to the Ottoman music and whose devotion had diminished: "The believers of nowadays, getting used to hearing the Turkish *taksimler* and the *peşrevler*, have grown sick of these [i.e. the holy church chants] and do not wish to listen to them, but the Grace of God, through the few devout and God fearing, will guard them unchanged forever. For, in the old times the Christians being God fearing and devout, and wishing for their Soul salvation, there was a certain established music that was sung to God in Church, all over the world." Once Petros himself had introduced in his *mathimata* passages that were tributary to lay music, the chanters had a justification for singing secular pieces which the believers had come to desire in the church chants (ibidem: ix).

The second cause is the simplification of the notation of the Old Method, which allowed the notation of external music formulae in Byzantine semiography. We must mention that Macarie the Hieromonk talks about simplifying the chants and—in Petros' case—about the influences of external music only regarding the *mathimata*, a category of very melismatic chants, which were not performed at regular service. Thus, as Ioannis, Daniil and Petros found ways for an extended writing of the melismatic formulae written until then stenographically, it became possible for one to note down new formulae as well, possibly borrowed from lay music: "Then, Petros Lampadarios Peloponnisios more skilfully showed the path to writing [...]. And this path to writing was followed by all other writers after him, thus very much increasing both the facilitation and the mixing of foreign elements in writing (ibidem: viii).

Hence, Petros Peloponnisios played an indirect part in disseminating the lay chants in the church music, but the assumption that his church compositions would have been in any way the object of criticism for Macarie the Hieromonk or Anton Pann is not justified. This is also valid for other composers from Constantinople—*protopsaltes* Ioannis, Daniil, Grigorios etc.—, whose chants are

to be found abundantly in the volumes adapted by Macarie and Pann.

Avoiding excess ornamentation

Grounding their assumptions in Pann's testimonies about adapting the chants into Romanian, some musicologists believe that the former wanted to eliminate excess ornamentation in the process of Romanianisation, avoiding the "gorgonate style". This opinion is clearly expressed by O.L. Cosma: "A. Pann takes a stand against those who appreciate the chant that is ornamented, convoluted, rich in melismas setting it against the 'sensible adjustment' and the 'enlightened style', that is, the elevated melody, moulded on the language it was sung in. He shows that he avoided the gorgonate style, looking for the naturalness of expression, for the appropriateness, following the rules" (Cosma 1975: 143). His assumptions seem to be based on others, made in the 1940s by Ion Popescu-Pasărea and George Breazul. The former quotes approximately the fragment from Pann which Cosma refers to and interprets it as an argument in favour of what he calls the *law of simplification and acceleration*: in the literary and artistic field, as well as in fashion, there is a tendency of simplification, of reducing ornaments and replacing them with linear forms (Popescu-Pasărea 1940c: 75). The latter, talking about Ion Popescu-Pasărea, equates the gorgonate style with rich ornamentation, which he considers inappropriate to the Romanians' nature: "What he [Popescu-Pasărea] considers rather inappropriate in them [i.e. the chants by Macarie, Pann, Suceveanu], and rather incongruous with our people's musical nature, is that 'gorgonate style', the excessive ornamental adornments" (Breazul 1970d: 30).

The passage to which the three authors refer is a fragment immediately before the one quoted above, from the poem *Către cântători* ("To the Chanters") by Pann:

"Many who look at the chant, I saw,
See it all-gorgonate and are in great awe,
Not knowing that the skill is not in the gorgonate writing,
But in sensible adjustment and enlightened style.
I shunned *gorga* as much as I could,

Followed common-sense, and with the rules I was good” (Pann 1845: viii).

Hence, the musicologists’ statements are based on an erroneous reading. Pann does not speak of gorgonate *style*, but of *writing*, that is of a more detailed (analytical) manner of noting down a formula, in which the ornaments are explicitly written, with the help of the rhythmical signs, that is of *gorga*. Pann’s statements refer strictly to semiography, to the fact that he chose to write the melody in a not so graphically loaded version. The incorrect understanding of Pann’s lines is based, in my opinion, on the widespread assumption within the contemporary Romanian musicologists’ circles that there is only a single correct interpretation of chant writing, and it overlooks the fact that certain ornaments do not appear in note form, but are transmitted through oral tradition.¹⁵

Composition techniques for adjustment to the national spirit

The post-war musicologists consider the chant shortening and the elimination of Oriental influences among the techniques used by Anton Pann in the process of Romanianisation. Sometimes, the chant shortening is correlated with the decrease in melismas, regarded as incongruent with the Romanian musical spirit.

The connection between chant shortening and the national spirit is stated for the first time in the interwar period, by Ion Popescu-Pasărea: “all these circumstances gave him [Pann] the possibility of studying the national tunes, the nature, language and customs of the people, these being hence identified in his literary and musical writings with the national spirit of the time. About this tendency of nationalising the church chants, this is what he himself states in the preface to his work *Bazul teoretic* printed in 1845: ‘I noticed that certain chants in the *papadic* and *sticheraric* melody were too long... and so, I shortened the lengthening beyond measure. I also cleansed the external figures that were very much like the Asian ones and I fit them to the nearest church melody, following the way and the style of the old Wallachian chanters, but mostly of the Homeland; **because church music achieved its national character long ago**” (Popescu-

¹⁵ For an analysis of the Chrysanthine notation (the traditional interpretation of some ornaments not explicitly recorded in the chant notation) see Αγγελόπουλος 1998 and Lingas 2003: 56–57.

Pasărea 1930b: 7, emphases in the original).

The reason for shortening them is, according to Popescu-Pasărea, adjusting them to the national spirit of the time. The real reason is revealed nevertheless when we read in the original the passages omitted by Popescu-Pasărea: “Twenty-five years have passed since I first took in my hand the pen for the adaptation of the Church Chants, and the everyday work, the writing, the copying, the teaching of the Lessons and using them in the Churches from various Towns and Monasteries gave me the opportunity to change them several times; I noticed that certain Chants in the *papadic* and *sticheraric* melody were very long and I was forced to shorten them while I was singing them and to cut them short at inappropriate times, when the Melody remained loose and cut bluntly, without taste; and being urged by many to do this, I shortened the lengthening beyond measure in my writing, without anyone noticing” (Pann 1845: xxxvii–xxxviii). Hence, the shortening was not done in the act of translation, but only later, after the chants had the opportunity of being performed repeatedly at church service. The overlong size of some chants—written initially for the Constantinople Cathedral, where there were probably more members of the clergy, and the Cherubic hymn or the communion of the clerics took longer—caused them to be suddenly interrupted: we can imagine the priest coming out of the altar for the Great Entrance while Pann was in the middle of a melisma in the high register, without having been able to say *grija cea lumească* (βιοτικήν αποθώμεθα μέριμναν). Pann chose, thus, to change his adaptations so as not to be forced to interrupt or rapidly end a chant, in a way that would have maimed the musical form, and not because of his desire to adjust them to the national spirit.

An extra reason against the thesis regarding the adjustment to the national spirit is that such an adjustment would have involved a sensitive difference from the initial form, and Pann says here that the shortening was done “without anyone noticing” and “the Chants are the same and the melody is the same”.

The passage quoted by Popescu-Pasărea contains another erroneous quotation which generates confusion. He suggests that Pann eliminated the external figures (borrowed from the secular music), similar to the Asian ones, in

order to follow the Wallachian style. Actually, Pann does not speak of the Wallachian chanters, but of those from the Holy Mountain: “I also cleansed the external figures that were very much like the Asian ones and hard for the listeners, and I fit them to the nearest church melody, following the way and the style of the old people from the Holy Mountain and especially from the Homeland; (because church music achieved its national character long ago,¹⁶ and only the Tsarigrad style has remained close to the Asian one); in a word, the Chants are the same and the melody is the same, I did not add one single figure, but like a Bee, searching through the myriad poems, I gathered the most pleasant and familiar to our Church” (ibidem: xxxviii). Thus, the sentence acquires a new meaning than that proposed by Popescu-Pasărea: Pann cleansed the external figures—the text suggests a slight alteration of the melodic line and not an amputation of some excrescences—, for giving the melody a church character, like the traditional one from Athos or Wallachia. Naturally, Pann mentions the Homeland and the national character, to which the Tsarigrad style—associated to the secular songs that penetrated the church chant of late, as we know from Macarie the Hieromonk—was foreign, but this is far from saying that he changed the melodies to suit the Romanian spirit and not the Greek one.¹⁷

As a conclusion, the prefaces of Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann show that the two had the same approach to the chants’ Romanianisation. Their purpose was to preserve the original melody, within the limits allowed by the differences in accent, number of syllables and word order between the Greek text and the Romanian one. There is no information in these prefaces that would justify the opinion that the Romanianisation had also meant adjustment to the Romanian sensibility, spirit or folklore. The two chanters did not intend to

¹⁶ The passage “church music achieved its national character long ago” (Rom.: *muzica Bisericească de mult, 'ș'a dobândit caracterul național*) can be interpreted also as “the ancient church music achieved a national character”.

¹⁷ I also consider the “our *Romanian* Church” interpretation (as different from the “Greeks’ church”) inappropriate, for the end of the fragment; this must be read as “our (orthodox) Church”.

eliminate Greek traits from the church chant and neither did they make any reference to this topic—their opposition was not directed to an ethnic character, but to the lay spirit that had penetrated church music. Also, the prefaces do not offer elements for endorsing the fact that limited ornamentation and chant conciseness are Romanian characteristics, or that Pann reduced the melismas and shortened the chants in order to be closer to the national spirit.

SEARCHING FOR SPECIFIC TRAITS IN CHANTS ADAPTED INTO ROMANIAN

Chromaticism¹⁸

We have seen in the previous chapter that contemporary musicologists, starting with Gheorghe Ciobanu, consider that the Romanianisation of the chants implies the elimination of external figures. The respective musicologists give only a vague picture of these figures: their origin and character are Oriental (Greek-Turkish-Arabic-Persian), they are associated with modulations, chromaticisms and certain ornamentation. The same musicologists see the abundance of chromaticisms as an Oriental feature, which penetrated the Principalities in the Phanariote time, and some of them suggest, or even state, that the reduction in chromaticisms is one of the Romanianisation devices. I shall investigate in what follows if the lower occurrence of chromaticism could be a mark of the Romanian chant and if the diminution of chromatic elements could be considered a means for adapting the Greek chants into Romanian.

I have counted the chromatic passages in some diatonic and enharmonic chants, in both Romanian and Greek variants. I have compared mainly pieces adapted into Romanian with their Greek originals. More rarely, I have taken into account original Romanian chants. I have chosen pieces in all the three genres—

¹⁸ This section is based on the paper *The Occurrence of Chromatic Passages in the Chants Adapted in Romanian*, presented at the third international conference entitled *Theoria and Praxis of the Psaltic Art* (Athens, 2006), published as Moisil 2010e.

heirmologic, *sticheraric* and *papadic*—adapted by the three most important Romanian chanters (Macarie, Pann, and Suceveanu), having investigated about 700 pages of Romanian scores plus their Greek sources.

The comparison raised a few problems. One of them is the object of comparison: we do not always know which was the Greek variant used by the adapter or how many sources he compiled (for example, the *Anastasimatarion* of Suceveanu has at least three sources, two Greek and one Romanian, see Moisil 2002: 147–151). However, in most cases, the Greek author of the chant is known, and it is also relatively easy to discover—by comparing the variants—whether the adapter used the version in Grigorios’ or Chourmouzos’ exegesis. Research has shown as well that the differences between the possible sources are not that great as to influence the result significantly.

I have compared the *kekragaria*, the *stichera* of the Resurrection and *anatolika* at Vespers and Lauds, the *dogmatika*, the *aposticha*, and the *eothina* in the *Anastasimatarion* of Macarie with those by Petros Vyzantios (*kekragaria*) and Petros Lampadarios in the *Anastasimatarion* edited by Efesios;¹⁹ the *heirmoi* of the *katavasies* in Macarie 1823b with those by Petros Lampadarios;²⁰ six *polyeleoi*,²¹ four *pasapnoaria* of the Gospel,²² the *pasapnoaria* of the Lauds and the *eothina* of Iakovos in Macarie’s anthology with those in anthologies edited by

¹⁹ Macarie 1823a: 1–2, 5–16, 23–29, 65–66, 69–75, 77–78, 97–98, 102–109, 112–113, 121–128, 135–136, 139–147, 149–150, 158–168, 207–208, 211–218, 239–240, 244–250, 263, 274–275, 278–279, 281–285, 288–294, 298–300; Εφέσιος 1997: 1–2, 5–15, 21–27, 60–61, 65–70, 72–73, 89–90, 93–100, 102–103, 109–115, 121–122, 125–132, 134–135, 141–148, 181–182, 185–191, 208–209, 212–217, 228, 238–239, 242–248, 251–256, 259–260.

²⁰ Macarie 1823b: 1–36, 52–91, 101–125; Πέτρος 1995: 1–41, 61–97, 107–112, 117–138 (from 145 examined *heirmoi*, 9 are written by Petros Vyzantios, 9 by Grigorios Protopsaltis, 1 by Georgios Kris, and the rest by Petros Lampadarios).

²¹ Four *polyeleloi Δούλοι Κύριον* by Ioannis Protopsaltis, mode 1; Daniil Protopsaltis, mode 4; Petros Lampadarios, mode plagal 1; Chourmouzos, mode plagal 4; one *polyeleos Λόγον αγαθόν* by Georgios Kris, and one *Επί τον ποταμόν Βαβυλώνας* by Chourmouzos.

²² Three by Ioannis Protopsaltis, mode 1, 4 and *varys*, and one by Petros Lampadarios, mode plagal 4.

Chourmouzos, Fokaeus and Efesios;²³ *syntomoi heirmoi* in Pann 1854a with those in Ιωάννης 1903;²⁴ four *polyeleoi Δούλοι Κύριον* in Pann 1848 with those in Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1 and Φωκαεύς 1978;²⁵ *koinonika* of the feasts, eight adapted²⁶ and eight composed by Pann²⁷ with the correspondents in the anthology of Chourmouzos; the *syntoma kekragaria*, the *pasapnoaria* of the Lauds and *stichera* of the *Syntomon Anastasimatarion* adapted by Suceveanu²⁸ (Sucevanul 1848) with those in the *Syntomon Anastasimatarion* by Petros;²⁹ the *syntoma*

²³ Macarie 1827: 42–61, 76–114, 153–201, 246–256, 264–267, 285–290, 303–314, 344–345, 347–352, 354–356, 390–393, 395–409, 412–419, 422–425; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 162–179, 197–298, 325–334, 343–355, 373–375, 377–382, 384–389, 392–402, 405–412, 415–418; Εφέσιος 1997: 12–91, 118–177, 281–286, 313–321, 351–367, 400–402, 404–411, 413–420, 423–436, 441–451, 455–459.

²⁴ Pann 1854a: 3–13, 26–30, 32–42, 44–47, 49–57, 59, 61–62, 64–69, 78–100, 102–106; Ιωάννης 1903: 225–235, 248–262, 264–267, 286–293, 295, 297, 314–320, 330–343, 371–378, 396–401, 416–430, 432–439, 468–472, 474, 476.

²⁵ One by Daniil Protopsaltis, mode 4, two by Petros Lampadarios, modes plagal 1 and *varys*, and one by Chourmouzos, mode plagal 4 (Pann 1848: 79–103, 110–120, 127–138; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 207–218, 229–240, 274–285).

²⁶ Pann 1847a, 2: 31–33, 43–45, 53–54, 77–79, 103–108, 112–113, 119–121. The originals were written by Daniil Protopsaltis (for Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost), Petros Lampadarios (for Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Ascension, and Transfiguration), and Petros Vyzantios, for Pentecost Monday (Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 219–221, 223–226, 228–229, 234–237, 245–249, 251–252, 257–259).

²⁷ I considered that one *koinonikon* composed by Pann can be compared with a Greek one for the same feast, if both of them were composed in the same mode. The eight *koinonika* by Pann were compared with the corresponding ones written by Daniil (for Easter and Transfiguration), Petros Lampadarios (Epiphany and Palm Sunday), Grigorios Protopsaltis (Easter), and Chourmouzos (All Saints' Sunday, feasts for the Theotokos and Holy Apostles); Pann 1847a, 2: 34–36, 55–57, 80–83, 89–90, 116–119, 121–124, 127–131, 162–166; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 221–223, 228–229, 234–237, 239–241, 254–257, 264–266, 269–272.

²⁸ For the *stichera* of the *Syntomon Anastasimatarion* adapted by Suceveanu, see Moisil 2002: 149.

²⁹ Sucevanul 1848: 15–19, 82–83, 88–92, 95–96, 99–100, 126–127, 131–137, 140–141, 144–145, 157–164, 192–193, 264–265, 269–274, 277–278, 280–281, 308–309, 313–317, 320–321, 339; Πέτρος 2002: 446–448, 464–470, 475–479, 482–487, 495, 514–518, 521–522, 528–532, 534–

automela adapted by Suceveanu with those in the *heirmologion* of Ioannis Protopsaltis;³⁰ the *idiomela* of September–December adapted by Suceveanu with the original by Manouil Protopsaltis;³¹ and the doxastika for the same period in Sucevanu 1856 with those of Petros Lampadarios.³²

Another problem is the definition of the chromatic passage. Its presence is usually indicated by a *phthora*. Yet there are situations when the passage in which the *phthora* rules does not contain any chromatic interval, namely when there is an augmented or semi-augmented second (see Fig. 4.1 where the *phthora* of the second mode indicates only that ke has to be *ifesis*; Macarie 1823a: 111, *sticheron*, mode 4).

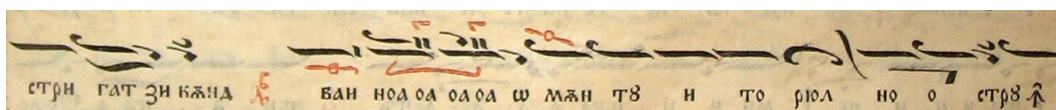


Fig. 4.1

Some passages might be counted as chromatic though no *phthora* is attributed to them, but only a *diesis* and/or an *ifesis*. The examples in Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2 (up, Εφέσιος 1997: 416–417, *pasapnoarion*, mode 4 plagal) have the same flat ke, noted by a chromatic *phthora* in the first case and by an *ifesis* in the second. In Fig. 4.3 (Macarie 1823a: 264, *sticheron*, mode 4 plagal) the *diesis* on ga is used for a chromatic inflexion instead of the *chroa zygos*.

The same formula may appear sometimes with a chromatic *phthora*—or

535.

³⁰ Sucevanul 1848: 351–360, 362–365; Ιωάννης 1903: 477–483, 485–488.

³¹ Sucevanu 1856: 4–6, 11–14, 25–28, 85–86, 102–103, 136, 150–151, 225, 227–228, 236–238, 240–244, 251–252; Μανουήλ 1993: 3–5, 9–11, 16–19, 24–25, 33–34, 36–37, 39, 54–63.

³² Sucevanu 1856: 8–10, 15–17, 28–30, 34–36, 41–43, 46–47, 58–59, 70, 73–76, 90–91, 97–98, 103–104, 109–110, 120–122, 132–136, 140–142, 159–160, 181–183, 186–187, 198–203, 205–207, 211–214, 216–217, 228–231, 244, 247, 253–255; Πέτρος 2000: 3–8, 11–12, 14–16, 21–23, 25–26, 36–37, 40–41, 43–46, 48–51, 54–56, 58–60, 65–70, 74–75, 81–83, 85, 88–92, 94–97, 101–102, 104–105, 107–109, 114–117, 120–121, 124–125, 128–130.

with a *diesis* or an *ifesis*—and sometimes not (see Fig. 4.2—*pasapnoarion*, mode 4 plagal; up, Εφέσιος 1997: 416–417; down: Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 386—, and Fig. 4.4—*pasapnoarion*, mode 1 plagal; up: Εφέσιος 1997: 409; down: Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 380). It is not always easy to state if the formula has to be executed identically, even if it is noted differently, or on the contrary, if the writer has purposefully intended to indicate a diatonic or a chromatic execution in a particular situation.

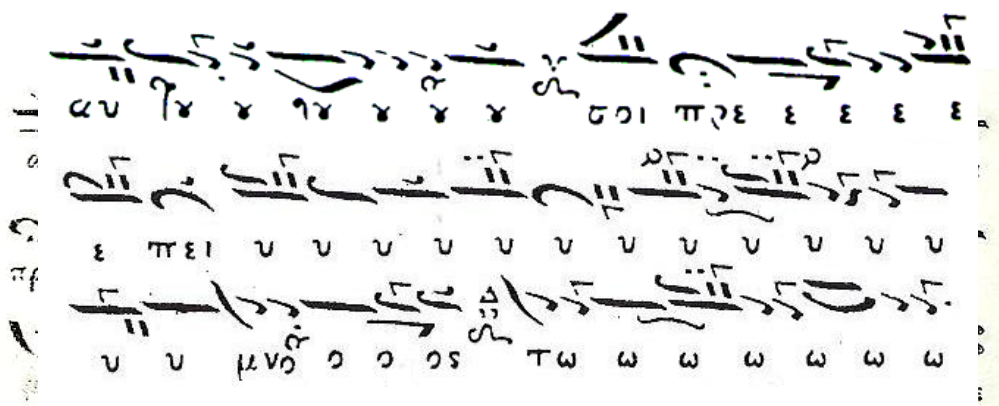


Fig. 4.2.

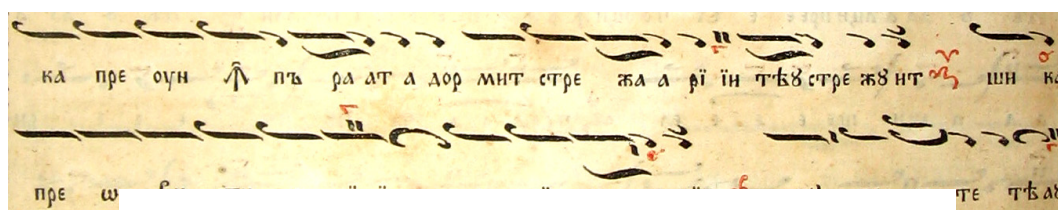


Fig. 4.3.

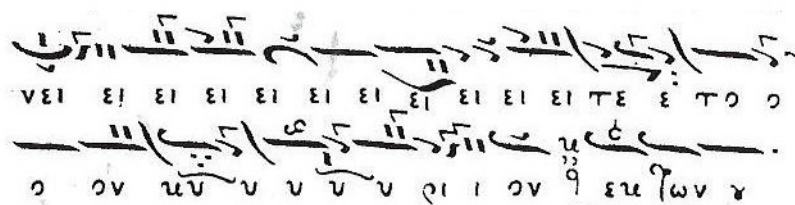
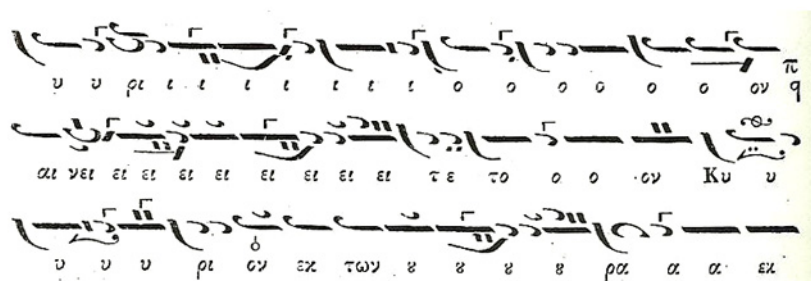


Fig. 4.4



The ambiguity in the definition of chromaticism might drive us to the wrong conclusions. Thus, at a first glance, in the *Eothina* and *Pasapnoaria* of Iakovos Protopsaltis, we encounter ten chromatic passages in the anthology of Chourmouziou, nine in the anthologies edited by Petros Efesios and Theodoros Fokaeus, and seven in Macarie's, six of them being common to all of them. It would seem that Macarie has eliminated some of the chromatic passages (see Fig. 4.5, *ἀλλ' ἐπλησας* and *ai umplut*; eothinon, mode 1 plagal; up: Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 411; down: Macarie 1827: 418); but in fact all the 'eliminated' passages could also be found as diatonic in Greek sources. The motifs correspondent to the words *ἀλλ' ἐπλησας* and *αγίου* in Fig. 4.5 and to *Κύριον* in Fig. 4.4 are variants of the same formula, to which the *exegetes* assigned various *phthorae*, chromatic or not.³³ So, I would not say that Macarie replaced a chromatic passage with a diatonic one, but rather that he preferred a particular way of writing.

³³ Beside *atzem* and the *phthorae* of the second and the plagal second mode, the formula is encountered with *geniki ifesis* in Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 398 and without any *phthora* at all in Ιωάννης 2003: 565.

matter of chromaticism. The number of modulations is strictly the same for both the original and the adapted variant, for most of the chants. At the general level, their occurrence is a little higher in the Romanian chant. This fact contradicts the thesis that eliminating the chromatic passages is part of the process of adaptation made by Macarie, Pann and Suceveanu.

Table 4.1: Occurrence of chromatic passages in adaptations

The signs – and + show the number of chromatic passages eliminated and added by the Romanian adapter.

Category / Greek author or editor (number of pieces)	Chromatic passages in original pieces (Greek)	Chromatic passages in adapted pieces (Romanian)
<i>Adaptation by Macarie the Hieromonk (published 1823–1827)</i>		
<i>Argo-syntoma stichera</i> of the <i>Anastasimatarion</i> / Petros Efesios (109)	5	7 (–1 ; +3)
Idem, <i>syntoma</i> (49)	0	3
<i>Argoi heirmoi</i> / Petros Lampadarios ³⁴ (145)	16	22 (– 1 ; + 7)
<i>Pasapnoaria</i> and <i>eothina</i> / Iakovos Protopsaltis (20)	7	7
<i>Polyeleoi</i> (6)	103	105 (– 1; + 3)
<i>Pasapnoaria</i> of the Gospel (4)	6	6
<i>Adaptations by Anton Pann (published 1847–1854)</i>		

³⁴ See footnote 20, Chapter 4.

<i>Syntomoi heirmoi</i> (128)	5	34 (− 1; + 30) ³⁵
<i>Polyeleoi</i> (4; only the 40 verses)	32	36
<i>Koinonika</i> of the feasts (8)	11	11
<i>Adaptations by Dimitrie Suceveanu (published 1848–1856)</i>		
<i>Syntoma stichera</i> of the <i>Anastasimatarion</i> / Ioannis Protopsaltis (61)	6	10 (− 1 ; + 5)
<i>Syntoma automela</i> / Ioannis Protopsaltis (16)	2	4
<i>Idiomela</i> / Manouil Protopsaltis (23)	3	2
<i>Doxastika</i> / Petros Lampadarios (43)	9	24

Comparing the ratio of chromaticism in Romanian original works with their similar Greek chants may reveal some interesting aspects (see Table 4.2). I examined a few of the chants acknowledged as the most valuable Romanian chant compositions, which are very much in tune with the national taste and feeling—the 10 *heirmoi* of Macarie and compositions from the *Idiomelar* of Suceveanu—to which I added a few compositions of large dimensions (*koinonika*) by Pann.³⁶ In the case of the ninth odes of the *katavasies*, the chromatic passages are more than 10 times more frequent in Macarie’s compositions (12 cases in 10 pieces, that is 1.2) than the average of the Greek *Heirmologion* (16 cases in 145 pieces, that is 0.11). Furthermore, they appear 5 times more often in the *doxastika* of Suceveanu than in the *Doxastarion* of Petros Lampadarios. Finally, the chromatic passages in the communion chants for feasts composed by Pann are not only more numerous

³⁵ More than a half of the added modulations (16) are to be found in the *heirmoi* of the *katavasies* for Nativity.

³⁶ Macarie 1823b: 29–31, 57–59, 64–65, 69–70, 79, 86–87, 90–91, 110–111, 116–117, 121–122; Sucevanu 1856: 24–25, 45–46, 54–55, 61–62, 72–73, 82, 101–103, 111–112, 122–123, 134–135, 173–174, 183–185; For Pann, see footnote 27, Chapter 4.

but they also have a more extended length. Therefore, the strong form of the principle of adaptation—which says that the adaptation to the Romanian spirit and culture imposed the reduction of chromatic elements—is contradicted by the aforementioned examples.

Table 4.2: Occurrence of chromatic passages in adaptations and original compositions

The signs – and + show the number of chromatic passages eliminated and added by the Romanian adapter.

Category / author or editor (number of pieces)	Original pieces (Greek)	Adapted pieces (Romanian)	Original pieces (Romanian)
<i>Argoi heirmoi</i> / Petros Lampadarios ³⁷ (145)	16	22 (– 1 ; + 7)	
Idem, only the <i>heirmoi</i> that appear twice (adaptation and original composition by Macarie) (10)	2	1	12 (– 1 ; + 11)
<i>Koinonika</i> of the feasts (8)	11	11	
Idem / original creations of Pann (8)	16		28
<i>Doxastika</i> / Petros Lampadarios (43)	9	24	
Idem / original creations of Suceveanu (14)			14

However, it shouldn't be concluded that, on the contrary, the presence of

³⁷ See footnote 20, Chapter 4.

chromaticism characterizes a Romanian style. The frequency of chromatic passages is much greater in the Romanian works compared to the Greek ones because the later include pieces created at different times, over almost a hundred years. Thus, in the works of Ioannis Trapezountios or Daniil chromaticism has a lower ratio, whilst for Grigorios and Chourmouzios—contemporaries to Macarie and Pann—the ratio is much higher, coming close to the Romanians’³⁸. Therefore, I think that the presence of chromatic passages in the works of the three Romanian chanters has to be interpreted as a feature of the period, and not of the region in which they were active.

The conclusion is that there was no elimination or even diminution of the chromatic passages in the process of chant adaptation by the prominent Romanian chanters (Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann and Dimitrie Suceveanu).

Length

I have shown above that Popescu-Pasărea is mistaken when he states that Pann abridged the chants to adapt them to the national spirit (of the time). Nevertheless, the post-war musicologists also consider the chants’ conciseness as an element specific to the national chant. Their arguments are the Romanians’ preference for the *syntoma* versions of the chants, for abridging the overlong chants, as well as the removal of melismas and of *kratimata*. Leaving aside the fact that some of Pann’s and Ciobanu’s statements are misinterpreted by recent authors, I shall examine below the arguments put forth and I shall check if the abridging acts mentioned above are to be found in the chants of the Romanian chanters.

The Romanians’ preference for the *syntoma* versions is stated rather than demonstrated. The musicologists did not examine a body of chants in order to find

³⁸ As an example, the ratio of chromatic passages per festive communion chant is about 0.7 for Daniil, 1.3 for Petros Lampadarios and Georgios Kris, 1.7 for Grigorios, 3.2 for Chourmouzios and Pann. I have used the communion chants for feast and *anti-cheroubika* from Ιωάννης 2001 and Pann 1847a respectively, that is 15 *koinonika* of Daniil, 29 of Petros (excepting the very long *koinonikon* for Christmas), 6 of Georgios, 8 of Grigorios, 5 of Chourmouzios and 12 of Pann.

out which the preferred genres are, but started from the fact that Pann replaced the short melismatic *katavasies* with the syllabic ones, they inferred the preference for the *syntomon* style and then presented the chants that could support their theory and ignored those that could invalidate it. For instance, they neglected the fact that some chants of the *Anastasimatarion*—*kekragaria*, *pasapnoaria* of Lauds, *stichera anastasima*, *dogmatika*—do not appear with Pann in a syllabic version³⁹; but, if the desire to have chants that are congruent with the national spirit had been the ground for replacing the short melismatic *katavasies* with the syllabic ones, then one would have expected Pann to make the same change for the chants in the *Anastasimatarion*. Another example: according to Vasile, the fact that Theodosie Zotica, a Moldavian monk around the sixteenth century, composed a short melismatic version (syllabic in Vasile's opinion) of the *kontakion* *Τη υπερμάχω* is an argument for the subsequent preference of the Romanian chanters for the *heirmologic* (*syntomon*) form. Vasile leaves out the fact that Zotica's other two creations are melismatic: a *koinonikon* and a *cherouvikon*. Moreover, the first is longer than the other eight *koinonika* *Αινεῖτε τον Κύριον* from the manuscript, almost all created by Greek chanters,⁴⁰ and the second is approximately as large as most of the *cherouvika* from the manuscript, but twice as long as the shortest among them (Vasile 1997b: 50; Moisescu 1985b: 35–39, 48–52, 83–93, 104–138, 150–158, 162–165, 175–186, 291–292, 217–222, 295–301, 322, 324–325).

The removal of the *kratimata* is an inaccurate statement: these are to be found in the works of the Romanian chanters, but they must be looked for in certain types of volumes—anthologies, *heirmologia kalofonika*, etc.—, not in *anastasimataria* or in *heirmologia*.⁴¹ Macarie the Hieromonk preserved them almost identically in the second tome of the Anthology,⁴² his only printed work

³⁹ An exception to this are the *stichera anastasima* at the Lauds in modes 3, plagal 2, *varys* and plagal 4 (also) in syllabic version (Pann 1847c; idem 1854c).

⁴⁰ Out of the eight *koinonika*, one has a Serbian author, two have anonymous authors (one of these *koinonika* is incomplete), and the others are composed by Greeks (Moisescu 1985b: 322).

⁴¹ For the types of chants where one can find *kratimata* see Αναστασίου 2005: 138–166.

⁴² I compared the chants in Macarie 1827 with those in Πανδέκτη (Ιωάννης 2003). One can find

that contains *kratimata*.⁴³ In the same volume, there are some *kratimata* that do not appear in the Constantinopolitan sources: the one from *ῒi acum* (*Kai vuv*) of the *polyeleos* in the first mode by Ioannis Protopsaltis, possibly composed by Macarie (the *polyeleos* ends in the Greek sources with the *troparion* from *Slavă* (*Δόξα*), see Ιωάννης 2003: 48–56; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 172–179; Εφέσιος 1997: 25–35); the one from the *pasapnoarion* of the Gospel by Mihalache Moldoveanu and those from Dionysios Foteinos’ *polyeleoi* (Macarie 1827: 59–61, 282–284, 374–378, 381–384). One finds *kratimata* with Macarie also in the volumes that did not get to be published. For instance, in the *Heirmologion kalofonikon* there are roughly one hundred *kratimata*, some of them composed by Macarie himself (Secară 2006b: 74–89).

Anton Pann included in his anthology for the Vespers and the Matins 10 *kratimata*, specifying that they serve to lengthen the “extensive poems”, like the *doxastika* from the *polyeleoi*, *heirmoi*, *pasapnoaria*. In the same volume, there is

minor differences regarding the rhythm or the analytical writing of a formula. The differences concerning the analytical writing are quite rare, with the exception of the *pasapnoarion* of the Gospel in mode *varys* by Ioannis Protopsaltis, where Macarie the Hieromonk probably used a different *exegesis* (Ιωάννης 2003: 478–482; Macarie 1827: 305–308). Extremely rarely, Macarie also adds a short musical phrase, such as the one of 33 beats from the end of the last *kratima* of Grigorios’ *polyeleos* (Ιωάννης 2003: 221; Macarie 1827: 75).

⁴³ The *kratimata* taken from Greek sources are those of the *polyeleoi Robii Domnului* (*Δούλοι Κύριον*) by Ioannis Protopsaltis, mode 1; Grigorios Protopsaltis, mode 3; Daniil Protopsaltis, mode 4; Petros Lampadarios, modes plagal 1 and *varys*; Chourmouzos, mode plagal 4; *Cuvânt bun* (*Λόγον αγαθόν*) by Georgios Kris, mode *varys*, *La râul Babilonului* (*Επί τον ποταμόν Βαβυλώνας*) by Chourmouzos, mode 3; the *pasapnoaria* of the Gospel by Ioannis Protopsaltis, modes 1 (three pieces), 2, 4 and *varys* and Petros Lampadarios, modes 2 plagal (two pieces) and 4 plagal; timiotera of Damian (Damaskinos) Vatopaidinos; *De demult prorocii* (*Ἀνοθεν οἱ προφῆται*) of St. John Koukouzelis (Macarie 1827: 53–57, 70–72, 74–75, 87–90, 92–94, 107–114, 146–149, 151–152, 165–168, 170–174, 195–201, 251–256, 265–267, 269–270, 274–276, 278–279, 286–290, 292–295, 299–302, 305–308, 310–313, 333–343, 431, 433–434; Ιωάννης 2003: 50–55, 214–216, 219–221, 91–95, 98–100, 116–125, 140–144, 147–149, 189–194, 197–202, 264–272, 309–315, 421–423, 425–426, 431–434, 436–438, 447–451, 461–465, 470–475, 478–482, 485–489, 510–522, Χουρμούζιος 2005, 1: 570, 572–573).

also a *Dynamis* that includes a *kratima*. One can find other *kratimata* in a volume of chants for the Great Lent, at the *koinonika* of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (Pann 1848: 435–456, 288, 415–417; idem 1847b: 21 [22], 27, 30). Last but not least, in an anthology in two volumes for the Divine Liturgy (Pann 1847a), Pann has *kratimata* at the *cherouvika* and *koinonika*. The first volume contains a set of *cherouvika* and *koinonika* for the weekdays and three sets for Sundays (the second set “modelled after those of serd[aris]. Dionysios Foteinos”, and the third “modelled after those of Petros Vyzantios Protopsaltis”). One can find the *kratimata* in all *koinonika* and in sets 2 and 3 of the *cherouvika*. I compared the length of the *kratimata* from Pann’s volume with those from the Constantinopolitan sources. Those from the weekly *koinonika* are slightly more extended with Anton Pann than those in the weekly *koinonika* of Petros Lampadarios: an average of 90 beats as opposed to 71 beats.⁴⁴ Those from the Sunday *koinonika* are as long as those from the Greek volumes: Pann took almost identically the *kratimata* from the Sunday *koinonika* of Daniil Protopsaltis for his first set of *koinonika* and those of Petros Vyzantios, for the *cherouvika* and *koinonika* from the third set.⁴⁵ The only significant difference that one can find is in the *koinonikon* in the mode varies from the first set of Sunday *koinonika*, where Pann extends Daniil’s *kratima*, which initially lasted 61 beats, to 99 beats (Pann 1847a, 1: 9, 13–14, 18, 23, 27, 32, 38, 44, 49–50, 55–56, 62, 67, 73, 79, 154–155, 158, 162, 165, 168–169, 172, 175–176, 179, 182–183, 185, 188, 190–191, 193, 196–197, 199–200, 203, 206; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 47–48, 51–52, 55–56, 58–59, 62–63, 66–67, 69–70, 73–74, 160, 162, 164, 166–169, 171–172, 174, 176, 178–179, 181, 183, 185, 187–188, 190–191, 193, 196, 198–199, 201, 203, 206, 208).

In the second volume, intended for the feasts during the year, Pann has two *kratimata* at the *cherouvika* in the first mode *tetrafonos* and 4 *legetos* (idem

⁴⁴ Here and below, I rounded off the length of a piece and the average to a whole number of beats.

⁴⁵ I left aside Foteinos’ chants (Pann 1847a, 1: 80–151), considering him less relevant, as he was Pann’s teacher and was active in Wallachia. Roughly, his *koinonika*’s *kratimata* are of the same size as those of Petros Vyzantios, and those of the *cherouvika* are slightly shorter.

1847a, 2: 23–24, 154)⁴⁶ and 27 *kratimata* at the *koinonika*.⁴⁷ The fact that other 16 *koinonika* have no *kratimata* must not be attributed to the national character, because in the Greek volumes, a great number of the *koinonika* during the year have no *kratimata* as well: 14 from 33, in Chourmouzios’ anthology, usually at smaller holidays and in the second day of Great Feasts. I compared the length of the *kratimata* at Pann, with that from the Greek originals (except those of Dionysios Foteinos, from reasons shown at footnote 44).⁴⁸ From the 16 *koinonika* “modelled” from those of the Constantinople chanters, only 9 have *kratimata*. Pann preserved the *kratimata* (almost) unchanged for five *koinonika* (Pann 1847a, 2: 33, 79, 107–108, 140, 162; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 220–221, 236–237, 248–249; Ιωάννης 2001: 624, 833). For the other four *koinonika* (Pann 1847a, 2: 102, 115–116, 121, 151; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 247, 259, 285–286; Ιωάννης 2001: 738–739), Pann changed the original *kratimata* or composed new ones, their length growing (the Ascension *koinonikon*: 64 beats at Petros Lampadarios, 88 beats at

⁴⁶ Aside from a series of *cherouvika* by Petros Efesios and the *cherouvika* specific for the Holy Thursday and Saturday, Pann adds these two as well, composed in modes that are not to be found in the first volume.

⁴⁷ I considered among the *koinonika*, the *Cinei Tale celei de Taină* (Του δείπνου σου του μυστικού) one as well, sung on Holy Thursday both as a *cherouvikon* and as a *koinonikon*.

⁴⁸ I mainly used Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 212–286, as I consider it includes the most widespread versions in Pann’s time. For the *koinonika* that are missing from this volume, be they adapted by Pann—for the Exaltation of the Cross, by Daniil Protosaltis; on Holy Thursday, by Iakovos Protosaltis; on Holy Saturday, by Georgios Kris; for All Saints’ Sunday, by Daniil; for the feast of Theotokos, by Chourmouzios, mode 3; for the feasts of saints (*Întru pomenire/Eis mnhmósynon*), by Georgios Kris, mode *varys* and those of the Apostles by Petros Lampadarios, mode 4—be they similar to those composed by Pann (see table 4.3)—for the Exaltation of the Cross, mode 4; for the Resurrection, mode 4; for the Thomas Sunday, mode 1; for the Theotokos holidays, mode 4—I used a more comprehensive collection, Pandekti (Ιωάννης 2001: 622–624, 628–630, 674–676, 686–688, 700–702, 714–717, 790–792, 799–809, 830–833). I used Pandekti also for the cases where the only version in Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2 was a composition by the editor, assuming that its inclusion in the volume was not necessarily due to its widespread circulation: for All Saints’ Sunday, mode 4 plagal; for the Theotokos holidays, mode *varys*; for the Apostles, mode 4 plagal (Ιωάννης 2001: 736–739, 741–746, 814–817, 842–844).

Pann), decreasing (the All Saints' Sunday *koinonikon*: 196 beats at Daniil, 87 at Pann;⁴⁹ the Holy Archangels *koinonikon*: 242 beats at Daniil, 180 at Pann) or remaining virtually constant (the *koinonikon* of the Transfiguration, 97 beats at Petros, 95 at Pann). I made another comparison, setting in parallel Anton Pann's original *koinonika*⁵⁰ with similar ones (in the same mode, where possible) from the Greek sources (Table 4.3; one can find the *kratimata* at Pann 1847a, 2: 28–29, 36, 52, 57, 82–83, 95–96, 98–99, 102, 118–119, 124, 130–131, 143, 165–166; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 218, 223, 236–237, 243, 247, 256–257, 261–262, 266, 280–281; Ιωάννης 2001: 738–739, 746, 803–805, 844).⁵¹ The table data analysis confirms the previous statements: Pann did not take action for eliminating or shortening the *koinonika*'s *kratimata*.

Table 4.3: The length of the *kratimata* in Pann's original *koinonika* and their Greek counterparts

Feast and mode	Greek author	Number of <i>kratima</i> beats in the Greek source	Number of <i>kratima</i> beats at Anton Pann
Nativity of the Lord, mode 1 <i>tetrafonos</i>	Daniil Protopsaltis	152	102
Epiphany, mode <i>varys</i>	Petros Lampadarios	78	141
Presentation of the Lord (<i>Paharul mântuirii</i> / <i>Ποτήριο σωτηρίου</i>), mode 4	Daniil Protopsaltis	485	0
	Petros Lampadarios	0	
Saturday of Lazarus,	Petros Lampadarios	0	107

⁴⁹ Pann attributes the *koinonikon* to Petros Vyzantios, but Pandekti credits Daniil Protopsaltis with it (Pann 1847a, 2: 114; Ιωάννης 2001: 736).

⁵⁰ Some of them bear the specification „original”, others have no specification regarding the author and are not similar to those commonly met in the Greek volumes.

⁵¹ I did not list in the table two *koinonika* for which I considered the comparison irrelevant (by chance, both without *kratimata*): for the Nativity of Our Lord (for the second day), mode 2 and for the saints (*Întru pomenire*/*Εἰς μνημόσυνον*), mode 4 *legetos*. Both have several parallels in the Greek sources, all of them in different modes than that of Pann.

modes 1 (Petros) and <i>varys</i> (Pann)			
Palm Sunday, mode 4	Petros Lampadarios	0	86
Holy Thursday, mode 2 plagal	Iakovos Protopsaltis	0	0
Resurrection, mode 1	Daniil Protopsaltis	149	206
Resurrection (Bright Monday), mode 2	Petros Vyzantios	0	0
Resurrection (Bright Tuesday), mode 3	Grigorios Protopsaltis	0	0
Resurrection, mode 4	Grigorios Protopsaltis	0	0
Thomas Sunday, mode 1	Daniil Protopsaltis	147	127
Mid-Pentecost, mode 4	Petros Lampadarios	0	126
Ascension, mode 4	Petros Lampadarios	64	123
All Saints' Sunday, mode 4 plagal	Chourmouzios Daniil Protopsaltis Petros Lampadarios Petros Lampadarios	193 196 0 69	113
Transfiguration, mode <i>varys</i>	Daniil Protopsaltis	210	141
Dormition of the Theotokos (<i>Paharul mântuirii/ Ποτήριον σωτηρίου</i>), mode <i>varys</i>	Chourmouzios Grigorios Protopsaltis	216 0	153
Exaltation of the Cross, mode 4	Ioannis Lampadarios	0	76
Holy Apostles, mode 4 plagal	Chourmouzios Daniil Protopsaltis	302 86	123

Hence, the *kratimata* are used by Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann in a manner similar to that of their Greek colleagues and there are no clues as to their attempts at removing them or shortening them systematically. The fact that the *kratimata* virtually disappeared from the prints of the second half of the century—meant first and foremost for the pupils in the seminaries—seems to have no connection with the adjustment to the Romanian character, but rather with a decline in the musical performance within the institutions in which one learned

the Byzantine chant.⁵²

Let us discuss now the matter of abridging the overlong chants, done by Pann. There are nine situations in which Pann mentions at the beginning of the chant: “shortened”, “abridged”, “shortened from the large one”, “modelled in brief form” or “reformed into an abridged [version]”. The shortening was done most probably by Pann; however, one cannot exclude the possibility that some of them had been shortened by the Greek composers and only translated by Pann. The shortened chants are the following: the *Anoixantaria*, the *pasapnoaria* of the Gospel, the *eothina* by Dionysios Foteinos, Hallelujah for the Gospel at the Divine Liturgy (Ioannis Protopsaltis), Macarie’s *heirmos* of the ninth ode for the Easter, the *kontakion Tη υπερμάχω*, Hallelujah for the Holy Monday, *Dynamis* by Georgios Kris, the Responses at the Litany of Fervent Supplication; the last four are accompanied by the extended, unabridged version as well (Pann 1848: 1–7, 287–294, 339–357; idem 1847b: 57–63, 65–68; idem 1847d: 30–32, 35–36, 53–54; idem 1847a, 2: 83–84).⁵³

The chant shortening is not a generalised act, though. For the longest chants, the *cherouvika* and the *koinonika*, Pann preserved their original size. I shall first discuss the case of Petros Vyzantios’ large *cherouvika*, leaving aside the *kratimata*, which are preserved almost unchanged by Pann (Pann 1847a, 1: 151–155, 159–163, 165–169, 172–176, 179–183, 188–191, 194–197, 200–204; Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 44–74). In the following tables, I listed the duration of the fragments between two medial signatures in the original version and in Pann’s adaptation, for the *cherouvika* in authentic modes.

⁵² One can also find here and there *kratimata* in Popescu 1860: 75–76, 78 (a Sunday *koinonikon* and one for the saints), Ioannescu 1878: 69–70 (the *koinonikon* of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts), Ionescu 1881: 159 (the Monday *koinonikon*).

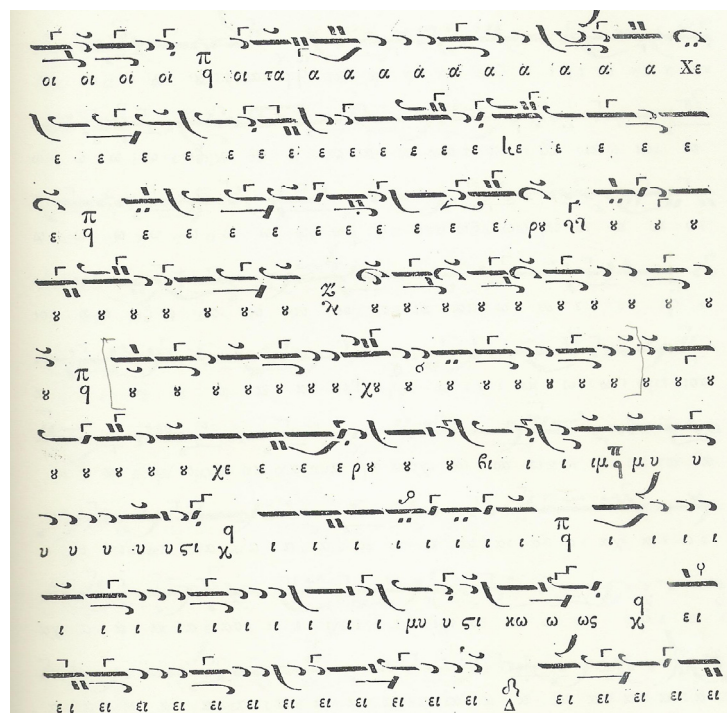
⁵³ Many of the original chants are frequently met in the Greek anthologies (the authors were identified by me, with the exception of Foteinos, mentioned by Pann). I did not find the original version of the *anoixantaria* and *pasapnoaria*. The responses at the litanies are of Russian origin (sung by Pann in 1810 at Chişinău; Pann 1847d: 53).

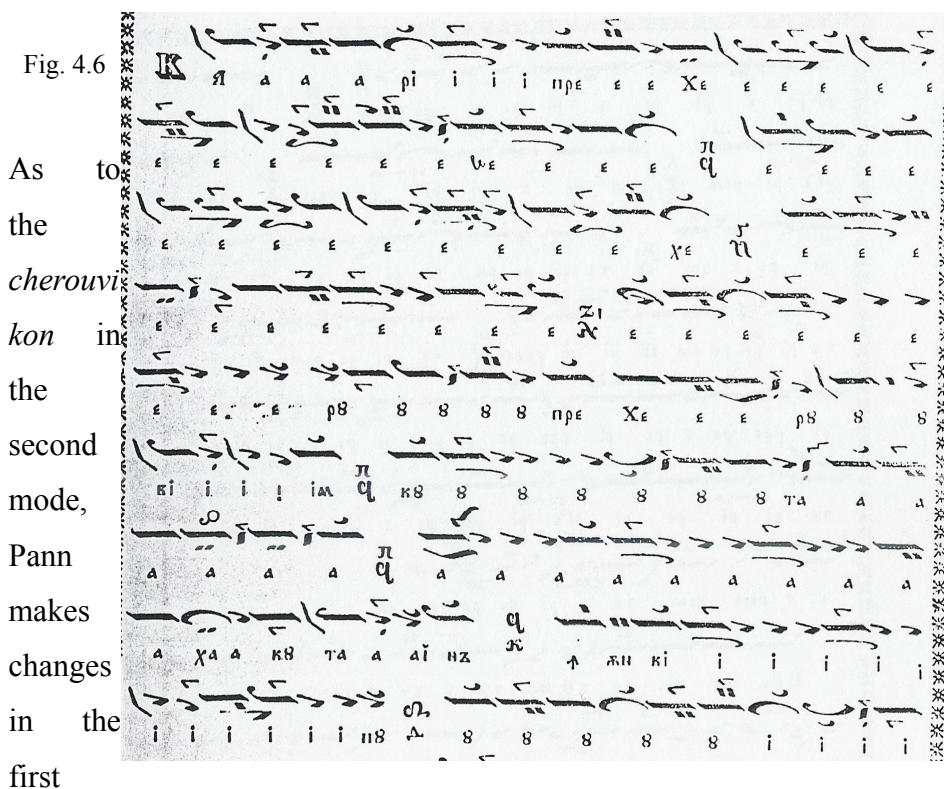
Table 4.4: The length of the *cherouvika* with Petros Vyzantios and Anton Pann. The *cherouvikon* in the first mode

Number of beats Petros Vyzantios	Number of beats Anton Pann	Medial signature
20	21	vu
15	18	di
11	11	zo
11	11	pa
40	44	pa
35	34	pa
14	17	ga
11	15	zo
11	11	pa
40	22	pa
24	28	pa
19	25	ke
15	15	di
20	22	zo
19	19	ni
64	65	pa
47	49	pa
30	30	di
43	48	ke
46	48	di
22	22	pa
45	54	pa
16	15	ke
48	48	ke
60	58	ke
63	66	ga

23	19	ke
14	14	ke
23	35	pa
22	22	ni
40	41	pa
25	25	pa
Total		
936	972	

For the *cherouvikon* in the first mode, Pann follows closely Petros' version, and the differences in the length of the phrases are usually very little or none at all (see Fig. 4.6, rows 6–13 in Table 4.4; up: Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 45; down: Pann 1847a, 1: 152). Pann amputates a single passage, whose duration is 18 beats (see Fig. 4.6, up, in brackets: row 10 from Table 4.4), but he adds a few beats to some phrases, so that on the whole his version is 36 beats longer.





fifth of the chant, but closely follows the original, starting with the word *χερουβίμ*. The duration of the phrases from the part subject to changes is shown in Table 4.5. Pann abridges the fragment with 46 beats, but adds before that a melismatic passage of 106 beats, on the first syllable of the hymn (Fig. 4.7, up: Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 49; down: Pann 1847a, 1: 159; the circles mark the melisma introduced by Pann, row 1 in Table 4.5; the asterisks mark the passage shortened by Pann, rows 4–6 in Table 4.5). After the word *χερουβίμ*, Pann performs only two major changes: both have as a result the increase in duration, the first from 2 to 10 beats, and the second from 6 to 15 beats.

Table 4.5: The length of the *cherouvika* with Petros Vyzantios and Anton Pann. The *cherouvikon* in the second mode (beginning)

Number of beats	Number of beats	Medial signature
-----------------	-----------------	------------------

Fig. 4.7

At the *cherouvikon* in the third mode, Pann introduces a melisma after the first 38 beats of Petros' chant (Fig. 4.8, up: Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 52; down: Pann 1847a, 1: 165–166; the circles mark the melisma introduced by Pann). The melisma Pann introduced lasts for 70 beats. Aside from this, the differences are minor, Pann adding only once 10 beats.

The figure displays two staves of musical notation for the *cherouvikon* in the fourth mode. The top staff, from Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 52, shows a sequence of notes with a melisma marked by a circle. The bottom staff, from Pann 1847a, 1: 165–166, shows a similar sequence but with a longer melisma marked by a circle. The notation includes Greek letters and musical symbols.

Fig. 4.8

At the *cherouvikon* in the fourth mode, Pann does the same as in the

second mode: he adds right at the beginning a melisma of 105 beats and later replaces a fragment of 42 with a shorter one, of 9 beats. In the rest of the *cherouvikon*, Pann changes the melodic line in one single place, obtaining a fragment 8 beats shorter than that of Petros (52 beats compared to 60 beats).

Hence, in the four *cherouvika* analysed, Pann abridges one or two formulae, but usually adds a large melismatic passage. The result is that Pann's adaptations are always slightly longer than those of Petros Vyzantios (with a maximum of 12% in the *cherouvikon* in the fourth mode).

I also analysed the length of several feast *koinonika*. I chose those *koinonika* for which Pann offers both abridged versions and original compositions, in the same mode: on Palm Sunday, mode 4 (Petros Lampadarios); on Holy Thursday, mode 2 plagal ((Iakovos Protopsaltis), Resurrection, mode 1 (Daniil Protopsaltis), Ascension, mode 4 (Petros Lampadarios) and All Saints' Sunday, mode 4 plagal (Daniil). In Table 4.6 I compare the length of the chants in Greek (Χουρμούζιος 2005, 2: 228–229, 234–237, 245–247; Ιωάννης 2001: 674–676; 736–739) with their Romanian adaptations and with Pann's original compositions (ibidem: 55–57, 59–61, 63–64, 80–83, 100–102, 116–119). For every *koinonikon*, I provided the number of beats of the chant without *kratima* and of the *kratima*.

Table 4.6 The length of the *koinonika* for feasts, in Anton Pann's adaptations and original compositions

Feast	Greek chant		Romanian adaptation		Pann composition	
	text	<i>kratima</i>	text	<i>kratima</i>	text	<i>kratima</i>
Palm Sunday	468	0	471	0	608	86
Holy Thursday ⁵⁴	649	–	575	–	570 455	–
Resurrection	642	149	608	151	637	206

⁵⁴ Pann has two original compositions of the *koinonikon* for the Holy Thursday, both in the second plagal mode.

Ascension	635	64	616	88	535	123
All Saint's Sunday	573	196	505	87	635	113

Two of the five Greek *koinonika* (for Holy Thursday and All Saints' Sunday) underwent relatively important abridging during their "modelling" by Pann. The reduction is insignificant in the Resurrection *koinonikon*'s case (under 5%) while the *koinonikon* for Palm Sunday and the one for the Ascension preserve their size (at the latter, the part without *kratima* is slightly abridged, and the *kratima* slightly widened). As far as Pann's compositions are concerned, three are shorter than their Constantinople equivalents (the Holy Thursday and the Ascension *koinonika*), two are longer (the Palm Sunday *koinonikon* and that of the Resurrection) and one is of the same size as the Greek one (at All Saints' Sunday, in which the extension of the part without *kratima* is compensated by the shorter *kratima*).

Thus, the analysis of the size of large chants suggests that Pann did not particularly intend their abridgement. When adapting the chants to Romanian, Pann sometimes eliminated some passages, but other times he added others or kept the piece unaltered. Moreover, the fact that he also composed larger chants than the Greek ones shows that, for Pann, the long duration of a piece was no problem in itself. Consequently, if conciseness were a feature of the national chant and if Pann had wanted to imprint this feature upon his chants, then the *cherouvika* and the *koinonika* would have been significantly reduced in size; since this did not happen, one must look for other causes for abridging the chants.

One last comparison regarding the length of the chants considers the most appreciated Romanian creations, Macarie the Hieromonk's *Anti-Axion estin*. One would expect these models of Romanian chant to be characterised, among others, by conciseness. In Table 4.7 I present the number of beats of the *heirmoi* from the ninth ode of the *katavasies*, sung instead of the *Axion estin* at feasts, in Petros Lampadarios' version,⁵⁵ Chourmouzios Chartofilax's and Macarie the

⁵⁵ The *heirmos* for Lazarus Saturday is composed by Petros Vyzantios, and the one for Mid-Pentecost appears in two versions, those of Petros Vyzantios and Georgios Kris.

Hieromonk's (adaptations in Romanian and original compositions)⁵⁶; (Πέτρος 1995: 33–34, 66–67, 73–74, 77–78, 87–88, 93, 96–97, 122–123, 128–129, 133, 278, 280, 285–286, 289–293, 296; Macarie 1823b: 28–31, 56–59, 64–65, 69–70, 78–79, 85–87, 90–91, 110–111, 116–117, 120–122).

Table 4.7: The number of beats of the ninth ode's *heirmoi* in Macarie the Hieromonk's adaptations and original compositions

Feast	Petros Lampadarios	Chourmouzos	Macarie (adapted pieces)	Macarie (original works)
Resurrection	238	233	281	317
Presentation of the Lord	253	–	292	331
Annunciation	156	145	188	210
Transfiguration	127	136	148	183
Palm Sunday	146	143	157	233
Pentecost	133	131	164	204 268
Ascension	94	100	101	136
Exaltation of the Cross	129	139	159	266
Lazarus Saturday	107 (Petros Vyzantios)	102	129	174
Mid-Pentecost	142	142	162	196

⁵⁶ Regarding the *katavasies* of the Annunciation, the Transfiguration and the Ascension, I considered only the *heirmos*, without the verse, which was missing either in the Greek or in the Romanian version.

	(Petros Vyzantios)		(Vyzantios)	
	133		159	
	(Georgios Kris)		(Georgios)	

The *heirmoi* in Romanian are longer than the Greek ones. In the case of adaptations, this is at least partially explained by the fact that the Romanian text contains more syllables.⁵⁷ It is nevertheless significant the fact that Macarie the Hieromonk's original creations are all longer than the Romanian adaptations from the Constantinople chanters' pieces: the pieces composed by Macarie are, on average, 30% longer than the Greek ones adapted by the same Macarie, despite the fact that they contain the same number of syllables. The relatively maximum length is that of the *heirmos* of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross: Macarie's version is 67% longer than that adapted from Petros Lampadarios' *heirmos*. The result raises another question regarding the thesis according to which conciseness is a feature of the Romanian chant.

To sum up, the comparison between the Romanian and the Greek chants showed that conciseness cannot be considered a specifically Romanian feature. Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann adapted, composed and published both *syntoma* and melismatic chants; they abridged some chants, but extended others; they eliminated and added melismatic passages; they preserved the *kratimata* and composed new ones.

Specific intervals⁵⁸

According to Ciobanu, the Romanianisation of the chants also involved an adaptation to the musicality of language, mainly to the preference for certain intervals. Ciobanu believes that Pann and his colleagues avoided big skips and

⁵⁷ If with the long melismatic pieces the difference between the number of syllables of the Greek text and that of the Romanian text does not trigger a difference in length of the chants, for the syllabic and short melismatic chants the fact that the Romanian text contains several syllables involves an increase in the number of beats of the chant in Romanian.

⁵⁸ This subchapter was previously published in a slightly different form as Moisil 2010c.

used to a greater extent the specific intervals typical for the Romanian music, the major second, the minor third and the perfect fourth.⁵⁹ I examined the ratio of these intervals in chants that were appreciated in the highest degree for their Romanian character, comparing some of them to their Greek equivalents. I chose especially syllabic chants, as these are indicated by Father Sebastian Barbu-Bucur as the most auspicious ground for the Romanianisation process and also because the melismatic ones could have triggered method drawbacks.⁶⁰ I considered useful to also investigate some short melismatic chants, which are mentioned by several musicologists for their Romanian character and which do not raise methodological problems due to their analytic notation. The syllabic chants are the *katavasies* for the Ascension (mode 1 plagal) and those for the Presentation of the Lord adapted by Pann—particularly highlighted by Vasile Vasile as representative for the Romanianisation process—and compared with the version from Ioannis Protopsaltis' *heirmologion*, *Our Father* and the *Leitourgika* by Pann as well as the first *heirmos* from the Palm Sunday Canon (the version noted down by Suceveanu). The short melismatic ones are the *heirmos* of the ninth ode for the Resurrection by Macarie the Hieromonk (compared to that of Petros Lampadarios) and the *megalyrnarion* in the first plagal mode by Ion Popescu-Pasărea.⁶¹

I counted the intervals of minor second, major second, minor third (I included here the enharmonic intervals of augmented second), major third, perfect fourth and skips of fifth or larger, disregarding the unisons.⁶² The first interval of a

⁵⁹ I do not discuss here whether these are the most frequent intervals in the Romanian peasant music, nor the relevance of such statistics.

⁶⁰ The large chants involve ornaments that are not explicitly indicated in the notation. The research results may differ according to the analyses of the melodic formulae.

⁶¹ The chants can be found in Pann 1854a: 26–30, 83–90; Ιωάννης 1903: 286–293, 416–419; Pann 1854b: 18–27 (only the responses and the hymns that can be found, in a simplified form, in Popescu-Pasărea 1905: 20–22), 30–31, Sucevanu 1857: 82; Macarie 1823b: 29–31; Πέτρος 1995: 33–34; Popescu-Pasărea 1905: 28–29.

⁶² I regarded as a whole the enharmonic intervals, considering that in the discussion about the musicality of language they raise interest due to their acoustic value rather than the melodic

chant was that between the first two notes, not the one between the mode tonic and the first note. I took into account the definitions of the scales according to the Patriarchal Commission from 1881 and, for the *heirmoi*, the attractions (*elxeis*), having as a guide Αρβανίτης 2001: 21–26, 46–51, 72–75. For the *Leitourgika*, *Our Father*, and Popescu-Pasărea’s *megalyrnarion*, written in the first plagal mode, but which divert from the norms of the Byzantine chant modes and whose structure is close to the tonal one, I considered only the *elxeis* explicitly recorded by the authors. I considered the intervals of 4, 6 or 8 *moria* as minor seconds; those of 10, 12 or 14 *moria*—major seconds; 16, 18 or 20 *moria*—minor thirds; 22 or 24 *moria*—major thirds; 30 *moria*—perfect fourths. One should mention that, for the analysed chants, the results would not have been very different even if I had overlooked the *elxis* phenomenon or had considered the scale as made up of tempered intervals of tone and semitone.⁶³ The ratio of the intervals can be examined in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: The ratio of intervals in various chants

one. Thus, in Table 4.8 the minor third column contains augmented second intervals as well; the diminished third intervals (met in the *Leitourgika*) are considered together with the major second ones; the diminished fourth ones, together with those of major third. The augmented fourth interval (from Popescu-Pasărea’s *megalyrnarion*) was included in the category of large skips. It is worth mentioning that the augmented and diminished intervals are relatively few in number, consequently, the statistics would have been relatively similar if these had been considered separately.

⁶³ This happens because the degree, altered due to attraction (*elxis*), changes both the interval for which it is the bottom note, and that for which it is the top note. For instance, a vu–ga–di passage at a cadence in mode 1, would be regarded as minor second (vu–ga, 8 *moria*) and major second (ga–di, 12 *moria*), when one overlooks the *elxis*, and as major second (vu–ga sharp, 12 *moria*) and minor second (ga sharp–di, 8 *moria*), if one takes into account the *elxis* rule. The situation would be similar if one used the tempered scale of 12 semitones, the only difference being that the minor second would be the size of a semitone (6, not 8 *moria*). One should mention that this is not valid for chants in other modes (for instance 4 *legetos* or 4 plagal, where a ni–pa–vu passage could be regarded, depending on the case, as 2 major seconds or as an augmented second and a minor one).

Title and author	Number of intervals	m2	M2	m3	M3	P4	Skips (5–8)	„Specifically Romanian” intervals (M2, m3, P4)
<i>Heirmos</i> of the ninth ode for Resurrection (Petros)	229	34%	60%	2.2%	1.3%	2.2%	0.4%	64%
Idem (Macarie)	321	33%	59%	2.2%	1.2%	3.1%	1.9%	64%
<i>Katavasies</i> for the Presentation of the Lord (Ioannis)	533	32%	59%	4.3%	1.1%	1.7%	2%	65%
Idem (Pann)	676	27%	63%	4.6%	1.2%	2.7%	1.5%	70%
<i>Katavasies</i> for the Ascension (Ioannis)	280	35%	55%	5.4%	1.1%	3.6%	0.4%	64%
Idem (Pann)	365	38%	56%	2.2%	0.8%	3.8%	0%	62%
<i>Our Father</i> (Pann)	116	34%	43%	13%	0%	7.8%	2.6%	64%
<i>Leitourgika</i> (Pann)	298	31%	47%	10%	2.7%	6%	3.4%	63%
First <i>heirmos</i> of the Palm Sunday Canon (Suceveanu)	105	37%	49%	4.8%	1%	7.6%	1%	61%
<i>Megalynarion</i> (Popescu-Pasărea)	209	38%	44%	6.7%	4.3%	5.3%	1.4%	56%

The ratio of each interval has important variations within the Romanian

chants analysed. For instance, that of the minor second fluctuates between 27% and 38%, and that of the major second between 43% and 63%, in both cases the extremities being illustrated by compositions by the same author, Anton Pann. In contrast, the differences between the Romanian versions and their Greek counterparts are significantly diminished: the maximum difference is of 5% (for the minor second, at the Presentation *Katavasies*). In other words, the ratio of the intervals depends to a larger extent on the chant—probably also on the mode and genre in which it is composed—than on the language it is sung in.

More important than the weight of a certain interval is the sum of the weight of the intervals considered characteristic for the Romanian folk music. If Ciobanu's theory is valid, then this sum should be larger in the Romanian chants than in their Greek equivalents. The results do not show this, though: in one instance, the percentage is identical (the Resurrection *heirmos*), in another it is bigger (*Katavasies* for the Presentation), and in the third it is smaller (*Katavasies* for the Ascension). The percentage of the intervals considered by Ciobanu characteristic for the Romanian folk music is approximately the same (around 64%), both in the Romanian and in the Greek chants.

One does not notice any significant reduction in the number of large skips in the Romanian chants. Comparing, in absolute figures, the Romanian chants with their Greek counterparts, Pann reduces the number of skips from 1 to 0 for the Ascension *Katavasies* and from 11 to 10, for those of the Presentation. However, Macarie the Hieromonk has 6 large skips in the Resurrection *heirmos*, while Petros Lampadarios had only 1. Then, judging in relative figures and taking into account the chants for which we do not have a Greek counterpart, the biggest ratio of major skips can be found in some Romanian chants (the *Leitourgika* and *Our Father* by Pann).

Although done on a small number of chants, the research is, in my opinion, sufficiently relevant. Over two thousands intervals from Romanian chants were taken into account and over one thousand intervals from Greek chants. The analysis showed that adapting the chants did not also trigger an increase in the ratio of certain intervals specific—according to Ciobanu—to the Romanian music.

There is therefore no evidence that adapting the chants into Romanian involved an adaptation to the musicality of language as well, as Gheorghe Ciobanu maintains.

THE PALM SUNDAY CANON, A ROMANIAN CHANT?⁶⁴

Until the post-war era, the Palm Sunday Canon was regarded either as Slavonic chant, or as a Romanian chant. Starting with Ciobanu, the latter variant was unanimously accepted by the Romanian musicologists. Ciobanu compares four versions of the first *heirmos* of the canon, recorded in various moments—since the beginning of the eighteenth century and halfway through the next century, by Filothei the Hieromonk, Macarie the Hieromonk, an anonymous author and Dimitrie Suceveanu—and carrying different ethnic labels: “in the Romanian mode, as it is easier and more beautiful”; “in a Bulgarian mode”; “according to the Moldavian temperament”. Ciobanu shows the melodic sameness of the four versions and notices the particular character of the canon, which does not obey the cadence system of the fourth mode, being closer to the cadences of the third mode (F, G, B flat). He also observes that the canon melody is not to be found with the other Orthodox peoples and that its specific traits—“the fluency of the melody, the syllabic character and the rhythm, which is similar to that of the carols”—suggest a strong connection to the Romanian folklore. Ciobanu’s conclusions are that Filothei the Hieromonk was the author of the canon melody, that his version lay at the bottom of the other ones and that the melody „is indeed Romanian” (Ciobanu 1974h, idem 1974c: 302–303).

Gheorghe Ciobanu’s arguments are debatable. First, the fluency of the melody and the syllabic character are not specific to the Romanian folklore, but can be met in other musics, including the Byzantine one. Then, it is not clear what

⁶⁴ This subchapter is based on the paper presented at presented at the 14th International Congress on Byzantine Music (Sibiu, 2007) and was published in a slightly extended form as Moisil 2008.

the author understands by “the rhythm which is similar to that of the carols”, since the latter use all the rhythmic systems of the Romanian folk music. Moreover, the examined canon has an ordinary divisionary rhythm and not one particularly associated with carols, such as the *syllabic giusto* (Herțea 1999: 79–83; Comișel 1992: 129).⁶⁵ Hence, Ciobanu does not bring forth elements based on which one could support the Romanian character of the melody.

Then, the cadences of the canon are not that unusual as they might seem at first sight. If one transcribes Filothei the Hiermonk’s melody starting not from G, but from A—just as Ciobanu does as well, in the example where he sets the four versions in parallel—then the perfect cadences and the final one are on G, the tonic of the fourth mode.⁶⁶ The medial signatures and the *phtorai*—both those in the old notation from Filothei’s manuscript, and those from the versions in Chrysanthine notation—confirm the justness of this transcription.⁶⁷

Finally, the statement according to which the canon melody “in the Romanian mode” is not to be found with other Orthodox peoples entails certain discussions. I compared the first *heirmos* from the *Palm Sunday Canon* by Filothei with the first *heirmos* of the same canon, as it appears in the various musical manuscripts with Greek text from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. I examined the most widespread versions in Filothei’s time and in that of the previous generation⁶⁸—the *heirmoi* of the *katavasies* by Germanos Neon

⁶⁵ The divisionary rhythm is the common rhythm for art music, in which durations are divided into smaller units. The *syllabic giusto* rhythm alternates a long beat with a short beat, in a 2:1 ratio. The theorisation of rhythms in the Romanian traditional music is based on Constantin Brăiloiu’s studies.

⁶⁶ In Example 1 from Ciobanu 1974h: 310–313, the author transcribes the melody in a mode on G, with F sharp in the key signature. On the other hand, in 1974c: 302, he discusses the cadences according to a transcription in a mode on F (and with B flat in the key signature), as can be found in Petresco 1967: 144–147. One should mention that Father I.D. Petrescu does not consider the cadence on F as an element outside the mode, but maintains that F is the real tonic (i.e. C, according to his theory) transposed a fourth up (ibidem: 119–120, 130).

⁶⁷ See also Father I.D. Petrescu’s comment in Petresco 1967: 131.

⁶⁸ We do not know Filothei’s birth and death dates. From the documents referring to him and his

Patron and Chrysafis the New and those from the *heirmologia* by Theofanis Karykis and Mpalasios—and the four canons transcribed by Father I.D. Petrescu in Petresco 1967. In Fig. 4.9 I show in parallel the first *heirmos* of the canon in Filothei's, Karykis's and Mpalasios's versions and in an anonymous version from

father, Jipa, one can infer that Filothei lived in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the beginning of the eighteenth century (Barbu-Bucur 1981: 2–3, 13–19).

Handwritten musical score for four staves (F, V, K, Mp) with lyrics in Greek and English. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

F $\text{A} \text{ r} \acute{\alpha} \text{ ta}$ $\text{tu s-au a le a d} \acute{\alpha} \text{n cu k} \acute{\iota} \text{ iz v} \acute{\alpha} \text{a r} \acute{\alpha}$

V $\text{e} \varphi \theta \eta \text{ san}$ $\text{ai} \text{ n} \eta \text{ xai} \text{ z} \eta \varsigma \text{ a}$ $\text{b} \upsilon \varsigma \varsigma \text{ou}$

K

Mp

Handwritten musical score for four staves with lyrics in Greek and English. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

$\text{u me giu n} \acute{\iota} \text{i h} \epsilon \text{m p} \acute{\alpha} \text{n t} \acute{\alpha}$ si te

$\text{vo zi} \text{ das a moi poi}$

Handwritten musical score for four staves with lyrics in Greek and English. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

$\text{si s-au de sco pe rit} \text{m} \acute{\alpha} \text{rii}$

$\text{kai a v} \epsilon \text{ ka} \text{ du} \text{ φ} \eta \text{ de} \text{ λ} \alpha \varsigma \sigma \eta \varsigma$

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a song in Greek. The score is organized into four systems, each consisting of four staves. The lyrics are written in Greek, and the musical notation includes notes, rests, and various musical symbols.

System 1:

- Staff 1: $\text{cei } \text{in} \quad \text{v\acute{a} lu i } \text{te} \quad \text{te me} \quad \text{li i le}$
- Staff 2: $\text{ku } \text{mai} \quad \text{vou} \quad \text{\text{σ}\eta\varsigma} \quad \text{za } \text{\text{θ}\epsilon\iota} \text{\text{μ}\epsilon} \quad \text{\text{λ}\epsilon} \quad \text{a}$
- Staff 3: (Empty)
- Staff 4: (Empty)

System 2:

- Staff 1: $\text{prin} \quad \text{vi } \text{\text{θ}\epsilon\iota} \quad \text{fon}$
- Staff 2: $\text{\text{z}\eta} \text{ ka } \text{zai } \text{\text{x}\epsilon} \text{ d\text{u}} \text{ veu } \text{ma} \quad \text{z\text{u}}$
- Staff 3: (Empty)
- Staff 4: (Empty)

System 3:

- Staff 1: $\text{c\text{a}} \text{ c\text{y}} \text{ vo } \text{ia o-ai} \text{ cer } \text{tat} \quad \text{pre } \text{d\text{a}\text{n}\text{sa} } \text{d\text{h}}$
- Staff 2: $\text{z\text{ou}} \text{ \text{ε}\text{η}\varsigma} \quad \text{\text{x}\epsilon\text{p}} \quad \text{\text{ε}} \text{ \text{π}\text{ε}} \text{ \text{ε}\text{i}} \text{ \text{k}\text{η}} \text{ \text{σ}\text{α}\varsigma}$
- Staff 3: (Empty)
- Staff 4: (Empty)



Fig. 4.9

a fourteenth or fifteenth century manuscript.⁶⁹ In order to follow the similarity

⁶⁹ The manuscripts from which I took the musical examples are: F—Filothei's *Catavasies* (1713), ms. LRA rom. 61, f. 19r (the *heirmos* reproduced in Barbu-Bucur 1981: 102, transcribed in Petresco 1967: 144–145, Ciobanu 1974h: 310–313 and Barbu-Bucur 1981: 225–226); V—ms. Palat. gr. 243 Vaticano, f. 55v (14th–15th c., taken from the transcription in Petresco 1967: 131–133; the neumatic notation is reconstructed by me, starting from Father I.D. Petrescu's staff transcription); K—Theofanis Karykis's *Heirmologion* (before 1590), ms. Sinai 1259, f. 73r; Mp—Mpalasios the Priest's *Heirmologion* (before 1680, the "standard" version in Filothei's time), ms. LRA gr. 888, f. 81r. Regarding the diastematic signs, Mpalasios's version is virtually identical to the versions of the *Katavasies* attributed to his contemporaries Chrysafis the New (ms. Leimonos 239, f. 272v, copied in 1672–1673) and Germanos Neon

between the versions more easily, I limited my transcription to the diastematic signs and neglected the problems related to rhythm, to the mobility of the degrees (*elxeis*)⁷⁰, the microtonalities, and the syllabic or short melismatic interpretation of the notation,⁷¹ irrelevant for the matter of Filothei's canon origin.

In Fig. 4.9 one can notice similarities between the melodic lines of the first four versions—especially between Filothei's version (F) and that from the Vatican manuscript (V)—, for the first and the last *kola*. One can also observe that both in the F and in the V versions, the cadences are achieved especially on G, in the same six out of the eight *kola*.⁷² These similarities indicate a mutual origin of the versions F and V; it is reasonable to regard this as Byzantine and not Romanian, taking into account the church music history in the Byzantine Empire and in the Romanian principalities by the time the manuscript V was written, as well as the similarities between the version V and the other versions in Greek (especially those transcribed in Petresco 1967: 131–133) and the fact that—as I have shown above—there is no evidence as to the Romanian character of the melody.

My statement regarding the Greek origin of the Palm Sunday Canon may seem daring, as long as the Romanian chanters from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do not confirm it, since they consider the piece was done in a Romanian or a Bulgarian mode. I shall try to explain in what follows the presence or the absence, as well as the meaning of the ethnic determiners from their writings, showing that the ethnic label applied by the chanters was independent from the chant's origin. First, we must not be surprised that the melody under discussion

Patron (ms. Leimonos 243, f. 86r) and relatively close to that from ms. LRA gr. 791, f. 56r–v (1665, reproduced and transcribed in Petresco 1967: 131–133, plate xix). I extend my warm thanks to Mr. Traian Ocneanu for the photos from the Leimonos 239 and 243 manuscripts and to Mr. Constantin Secară for the images from the Sinai 1259 manuscript. For the *heirmologia* from the post-Byzantine period until Filothei, see Χατζηγιακουμής 1999: 33–34, 37, 44–48, 53, 120–122, 128–131, 135–136 and Αντωνίου 2004: 141–201.

⁷⁰ Many times, F should be read F sharp and B—B flat.

⁷¹ The versions in the new notation suggest that the syllabic interpretation is the most appropriate.

⁷² The melody cadences on G in *kola* 2, 4–8. For *kola* 2 and 5 (F) and 2 (V), the stop on the degree of cadence is shorter and is followed by a passage towards the new *kolon*.

was not perceived as Greek by the Romanian chanters. Since Filothei's time already, the V type versions were no longer found in the Greek manuscripts.⁷³ Consequently, one should expect the Romanian chanters not to have called Greek a melody that was rarely, or not at all, sung or copied by their Greek peers and which showed certain peculiarities compared to the melodies the latter used.

Then, the attributes "Bulgarian" and "Slavonic"—which Macarie the Hieromonk and bishop Melchisedek attached to the canon mode—are not inappropriate, if we remember that Melchisedek distinguished two branches of church chants in the old times: Greek (cultured) and Slavonic (vulgar). The relatively stereotyped character of the melody—the eight *heirmoi* are much more similar than is the case with other canons—the placement of some stressed syllables incongruent with the melodic accents and the diffusion of the piece orally (as well)⁷⁴ entitled Melchisedek to attach this canon to the Slavonic "vulgar" and "traditionally" developed branch.

The same criteria might have operated in Macarie's case. Even if his writings do not mention several versions of the church chant, one can assume that the Hieromonk had accepted Melchisedek's historical outline and classification: Macarie knew that the Romanians had used the Slavonic language in church (Macarie 1823b: iv), he possibly correlated the chant in Greek with the written tradition, and that in Slavonic with the oral tradition (Moisescu 1985a: 119, 133) and, most certainly, he noticed the differences between the Palm Sunday Canon and the Greek melodies which he had sung and translated. Thus, the term „Bulgarian mode" should not be understood as a particular mode used by the

⁷³ I examined a table of the most important manuscripts that include *heirmoi* (Αντωνίου 2004: 92–98). From 37 manuscripts dated seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century (but earlier than 1713, in cases where the year is known exactly), 32 contain pieces whose author is known, starting with Karykis (out of these, 17 are *heirmologia* by Mpalasios); for three of them there is no reference regarding the composer (one is the Sinai 1259 manuscript); one bears the reference "Byzantine" and one "Post-Byzantine anonymous", both being copied down at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

⁷⁴ Melchisedek mentions the melody being sung by children in Wallachia (Melchisedek 1882: 22).

Bulgarians, or one of Bulgarian „essence”, but as an indication for a chant that is different from the usual Greek ones.

For the same reason, in order to place the Palm Sunday Canon in opposition to the usual chants, Filothei the Hieromonk used the phrase “the Romanian mode”, and the scribe of the manuscript from Neamț used “the Moldavian temperament”. Unlike Melchisedek’s diachronic perspective, which set in opposition the Slavonic chant to the Greek one, that of Filothei had as a criterion the space in which a chant circulated—or the ethnicity of the performers, or maybe both—at a certain historical moment, distinguishing thus the Romanian chant from the Greek one. One should not understand that Filothei implied a Romanian origin, a Romanian style or spirit of the melody, but that he wanted to point out the melody used by the Romanians, and not by the Greeks, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the Palm Sunday Canon, a Greek origin chant, was labelled as Romanian or Moldavian, because it was sung in Wallachia or in Moldavia, by the indigenous chanters, not by the Greek ones; and as Bulgarian or Slavonic, because it had been part of the chants which, before being adapted into Romanian, had circulated with Slavonic text and had been transmitted orally.

One ought to clarify one last matter: out of all the chants from Filothei the Hieromonk’s voluminous manuscript, the Palm Sunday Canon is the only one for which the author chose the melody “in the Romanian mode [...] easier and more beautiful”, to the detriment of a Greek version. How can one explain Filothei’s choice other than by a supposed wish to keep a chant with a Romanian character?

Let us remark that the part from Filothei’s manuscript which contains the *heirmoi* of the *katavasies* also includes chants for which Filothei offers only the literary text, not the musical one (*apolytikia*, *kontakia*, *doxastika* for the Great Feasts), chants which do not appear traditionally in *heirmologia*. This must be correlated to the fact that Filothei was the translator of the *Catavasier*, a volume that gathers the texts of the *katavasies* and of other feast chants (Barbu-Bucur 1981: 27–28). For making up the “musical” *catavasier*, Filothei generally followed the structure of the “literary” *catavasier*—a structure that can be

observed, for instance, in the first *catavasier* printed in the Romanian principalities in 1713, with a Slavonic and Greek text, and Romanian guidelines—as well as the melodic line from contemporary musical manuscripts, probably from Germanos' *Katavasies*, as Constantin Secară states (Secară 2006c: 196, idem 2006a: 138). The Palm Sunday Canon is present in its full form (28 troparia) in the Slavonic section of the *Catavasier* from 1713, but is missing from its Greek section. Moreover, the Palm Sunday *Katavasies* are rarely met in Germanos' *Katavasies*: out of eight inventoried manuscripts, only one contains the Palm Sunday *Katavasies*.⁷⁵

We are now in a position to solve the Palm Sunday Canon matter. The answer is that, far from wishing to keep the melodies that the Romanians had transmitted orally, Filothei acted in favour of the Greek music, the music of the “chanters of our eastern Church”.⁷⁶ As he himself declares, he had as a model Greek musical manuscripts:⁷⁷ Chrysafis' *Anastasimatarion*, Metropolitan Germanos Neon Patron's *Sticheriarion*, the *Heirmologion* of the *Katavasies* by the same Germanos etc. (Şirli 1986: 31; Barbu-Bucur 1986: 15). When making up the *Catavasier*, Filothei did not want to leave out the Palm Sunday Canon, one of the two canons reproduced entirely in the *Catavasier* printed in 1713.⁷⁸ Most likely, the Greek musical manuscript that he had did not include the Palm Sunday Canon, though. Lacking it, Filothei recorded the melody used by Romanians and transmitted orally until then, adapting it to the text translated into Romanian.

THE TRADITIONAL TREND IN HARMONISED MUSIC

⁷⁵ Germanos' *katavasies* from the eight manuscripts are enumerated in Χατζηγιακουμής 1975: 120, 179; Στάθης 1975: 175, 281, 592; Secară 2006c: 176–177, 182, 185.

⁷⁶ See Filothei's dedication from ms. LRA rom. 61, f. 6r, transliterated in Barbu-Bucur 1981: 165.

⁷⁷ See ms. LRA rom. 61, f. 5v–7r, transliterated in Barbu-Bucur 1981: 164–165.

⁷⁸ The other canon is that of the Easter and is recorded completely (all the *troparia*), with musical notation, in Filothei's manuscript. The Easter Canon appears in full version among Germanos' compositions as well (Secară 2006c: 177, 182).

The church choirs in parts did not have opponents among the writers analysed in the previous chapter, as long as these performed arrangements of some traditional tunes and not Russian or German style compositions. I showed that the analysed authors have different opinions regarding the inclusion of certain composers into the traditionalist trend. I shall examine below the connection between the *psaltic* chants and the melodies of the compositions considered traditional or national by Vancea, Moldoveanu and Vasile, the ones that debate the matter in more detail. I mainly used the pieces from the most important collections of the pre-war period (Bunescu 1886 and Nifon 1902) and from the voluminous choral repertoire for the use of seminary students and theology students today (Moldoveanu 1998). The authors of these pieces are Theodor Georgescu, Gheorghe Ionescu, Alexandru Podoleanu, Ioan Bunescu, Ion Popescu-Pasărea and D.G. Kiriac.

Most of the melodies of the examined compositions are either melodies taken almost identically from the chant volumes, or tonal compositions. It happens rather rarely for a melody taken from a chant volume to have undergone changes, or for a melody to display both Byzantine and tonal features so as its classification into one of the two categories above to be uncertain.

Theodor Georgescu is mentioned for a single harmonisation of a *psaltic* chant, *Pre Tine Te lăudăm* (Σε υμνοῦμεν). The melody is a simplified and rhythmically modified version of the hymn from the *Leitourgika* by Oprea Demetrescu, in its turn a simplified version of a hymn by Demetrescu's teacher, Anton Pann (Fig. 4.10, Pann 1854b: 26–27; Demetrescu 1873: 169; Nifon 1902: 309–311). The modulatory passage with the *phthora spathy* is diatonicised and the melody acquires a tonal tinge.

Gheorghe Ionescu is unanimously considered a harmoniser of traditional chants. Indeed, the melodies used in his musical pieces in Nifon 1902: 241–250, 276–287, 292–297 come from chant anthologies: the responses at the Great Litany were previously published in Popescu 1860: 32; the First Antiphon at the Divine

Liturgy⁷⁹ is an arrangement of that by Petros Lampadarios, adapted by the

⁷⁹ The first two antiphons at the Sunday Divine Liturgy are composed in an abridged form: the first verse of Psalm 102 (LXX) and *Unule născut* (O Μονογενής Υιός) respectively, introduced by the verses *Slavă... Și acum...* (Δόξα... Καὶ νῦν...).

Pre ti i ne e e e te e e e e

Pre ti ne te lă u u dăm pre ti ne bi ne te cu vin în tăm

ti i i i e i i ti mu ul ță mim Dó mne și ne ru gă ăm ti i

i e Dum ne de e u u u lui no o o stru u

Fig.
4.10

ti - ne bi - ne te cu - vîn- tăm.

Fig.
4.10

Dum- ne - de - u - lui nos - tru.

hiero
deac
ons
Iosif

scu
(Pann
1847d
: 5)
and
Necta
rie

Ti e i ti mul-țu-mim Dóm - ne

și ne ru - găm - Ti e

Nanie

Frimu (Frimu 1840: 5); the Second Antiphon is composed by Nectarie Frimu (ibidem: 8; cf. Ionescu 1881: 92); the *Leitourgika* by Pann (like Georgescu, Ionescu uses a simplified variant without chromatic passages); the *megalynarion* of Varlaam the hieromonk was published in Popescu 1860: 55–56; *Our Father* by Pann (the variant in Demetrescu 1873: 195, where the original passages with the *phthora hisar* are diatonicised, see Fig. 4.11).

Ехѡл Ѧѡт. ѡ Па. Т. Allegretto.

а тѡл по стрѡ кареле ещѣ ѡн Че о е рѡрѣ ѡ

сфѣи

рѡ шѣ а та ѡ фа кѡ се во ѡа та ѡ пре

кѡм ѡн че е е ерѡ шѣ и пре пѡмѣнт ѡ пѡкѣ неа

поа а астрѡ чеаспрефѣ і ѡн ѡ ѡ дѡ не о

по о о о ѡ а стѡзѣ ѡ шѣ не ѡар тѡ по ѡ пѡ

ка те лепоастрѣ ѡ пре кѡм шѣ воѣ ер тѡм гре шѣ

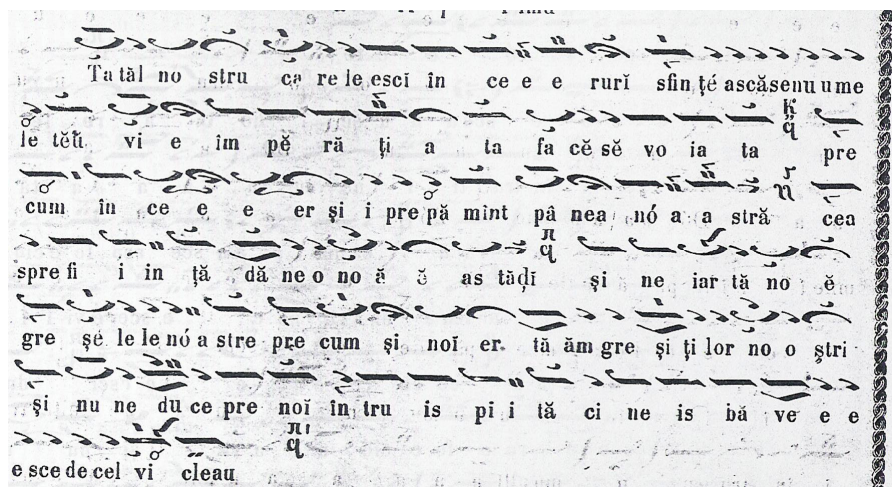
і ѡѡорпо о о шрѣ ѡ шѣ вѡ не дѡ че пре поѣ ѡн

трѡ іс пі і тѡ ѡ чѣ не ѡз вѡ ве е е е ше

дечел ві класан ѡ саѡ асфел:

ѡ ѡ Чѣ не ѡз вѡ ве е е е ше е де чел ві класан а ѡн

Fig.
4.11



Zatăl nostru.

Allegretto.

Armonizat de G. Ionescu.

First system of the musical score. It consists of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The melody is in the treble clef. The lyrics are: Ta - tăl nos- tru ca - re - le ești în.

Second system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: ce - ruri sfin- teas - că - se nu -

Third system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: me - le tēū, vi - e îm - pē - ră - ți - ia

Fourth system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: ta fa - că - se vo - ia ta pre - eum în

Fifth system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: cer - și - pre pă - mint; păi - nea

Sixth system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: nōs trā cea spre fi - în - tă dā -

Seventh system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: ne - o no - uē as - tă - ți și ne iar - tă

Eighth system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: no - uē gre - șa - le - le nōs - tre pre -

Ninth system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: cum și noi ție - tām - gre - și - ți - lor noș -

Tenth system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: tril și nu ne du pre noi - în is - pi -

Eleventh system of the musical score. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: tă ci ne is - bă - veș - te de

Twelfth system of the musical score. It begins with a 'rit.' (ritardando) marking. The melody continues in the treble clef. The lyrics are: cel vi - clean. A - min. Și

Fig. 4.11

Alexandru Podoleanu is also taken into account by Moldoveanu and Vasile as a representative of the traditional style (as opposed to Vancea, who attaches him to the Russian trend). From the pieces that Moldoveanu and Vasile regard as having “a purely national spirit, based on the traditional chant” and characterised by “closeness to the monodic style practised in the Orthodox church service”, most are tonal compositions with no connection to the Byzantine chants: the first two antiphons of the Liturgy, *Christ Is Risen* (three versions), the responses at the Litany of Fervent Supplication (taken from Pann 1847d: 53–54),⁸⁰ two Cherubic hymns, two versions of the *Leitourgika*.⁸¹ The First Antiphon and the *Leitourgika* in E major are similar to the Byzantine chants in mode 4 plagal—due to the scale, the melodic line based on conjunct motion and to the quasi-syllabic style—but they are different compositions, and their structure is tonal. Passages with Byzantine chant sonority can be found in the *megalyrnarion* for the Liturgy of St. Basil, but their ratio is low. Moreover, in the Cherubic hymns and in the *megalyrnaria*, the number of beats for a syllable is not in agreement with the traditional norms of the short melismatic or long melismatic chants, the duration of most syllables being one beat, half a beat or two beats (Bunescu 1886: 140–169).

Compositions whose melodies are closer to the Byzantine chant ones are: *Crucii Tale* (*Tov σταυρόν σου*) in F major—a simplified version in which the dipphonic structure of the second mode is preserved, the tonic of the mode (di) becomes the dominant (C), the trichord di–ke–zo (semitone–semi-augmented second) becomes a succession of tones (C–D–E), and ga remains a mobile degree (Fig. 4.12, *ibidem*: 145; Pann 1847d: 34); *Câți în Hristos* (*Όσοι εις Χριστόν*) in G major—the melodic line is similar to that of the traditional melody, with the tonic of the first mode becoming the second degree of the major scale (Fig. 4.13, *ibidem*: 33; Bunescu 1886: 146); the *megalyrnarion* in E minor, whose melody—with the exception of the medial third, where a parallel key modulation happens—

⁸⁰ Pann mentions having sung them, as a child, in a harmonic choir. See footnote 53.

⁸¹ In my opinion, Vasile Vasile is mistaken when he states that the *Leitourgika* are “from Iosif Naniescu’s melodies” (Vasile 1997b: 245).

resembles that of several *megalynergia* in mode 1 plagal, elaborated by chanters from the mid-19th century (Pann, Ștefanache Popescu, Varlaam the Hieromonk); the chants for Wedding—similar to the traditional ones (cf. Ψαριανός 2004: 351–354).⁸² One must mention that for the two pieces (*Crucii Tale* and *Câți în Hristos*), despite the Byzantine origin of the melodies, the sonority of Podoleanu's composition is very different from that of the *psaltic* version.

The figure displays two versions of a Romanian wedding chant. The top portion is a scan of a handwritten manuscript, featuring a single melodic line with neumes (stylized symbols) above a line of text in Cyrillic script. The bottom portion is a printed musical score for piano, showing a two-part setting in 2/4 time. The score includes a title 'La dîl'le crucii' and lyrics in Romanian. The manuscript's text is in Cyrillic, while the score's text is in Latin script.

Manuscript text (Cyrillic):
 CE ЗІЧЕ АЧЕЛТА : ВХУА Δι. Τ.
 Р8 чіі ТА А А АЕ Е НЕ Е П К КН КІ НЗ З З ЗМ
 ГТЗ З З П К К К К НЕ ІІІ СФ К К Н ТА А А П
 КІ Е Е Е Р К А А ТА А А О О О СЛЗ З З КІМ (Δε 3-ορί.)

Score title: *La dîl'le crucii*

Score lyrics (Romanian):
 Cru - oîi Ta - le ne în chi - năm stă - pă - ne și
 Sfin - te Dumne - ze - u - le sfin - te ta - re
 sîn tă in - vi - e rea Ta o lă - u - dăm și o mă - rim.
 sfin - te far'de mór - te mi lu - e - sce - né - pre noi.

Fig. 4.12

⁸² Chants for Wedding are rare in *psaltic* anthologies, probably because their small number, the reduced size and the simple style made them easy to remember; for this reason, I did not refer to a Romanian version of that time, but to that edited by Psarianos.

The image displays two musical scores. The top score is written in Greek notation and includes the title "ΟΙ ΚΑΝΤΖΑΧΕΣΤΑ: ΒΧΣΑ ᾠ. Πα. Τ." and lyrics in Greek. The bottom score is written in Latin notation and includes the title "La serbări Impărătesci" and lyrics in Romanian. It also features a section titled "La Pasce No.1." with lyrics in Romanian.

Fig. 4.13

Regarding Ioan Bunescu, Vasile is reserved, mentioning only two pieces in psaltic style from the service of the Akathist. Father Nicu Moldoveanu adds to this *Dumnezeu este Domnul* (Θεός Κύριος) and the *apolytikion* for Holy Thursday, all being, indeed, harmonisations of the Byzantine versions. Moldoveanu also considers that the “psaltic style [...] can be felt in many of his harmonic church pieces” and he gives some examples of such chants. In my opinion, from his musical pieces published in Bunescu 1886, only the antiphons for the Great Feasts (see *infra*), *Doamne mântuiește* (Κύριε σώσον τους ενσεβείς) and the *Leitourgika*

in F major (after those in mode 4 plagal by Naniescu) are based on Byzantine chants. The *Leitourgika* in F minor and the *Cherouvikon* in A major are tonal. The responses at the Great Litany are too short to be clearly included into a category; at any rate, they are not taken from Anton Pann's and Ștefanache Popescu's collections. The Sunday and the Feast antiphons, as well as *Veniți să ne închinăm* (Δεῦτε προσκυνήσουμε) are present in three series, of which the first two in a recitative style, each voice changing the pitch of the sound only at cadences. The melodies of the third series are generally tonal; only those of the Feast antiphons (in F major) rework traditional melodies in the second mode. The scale of the second mode is altered, but in a different way than Podoleanu had done it: the tonic of the mode becomes the third degree, and the other main cadence degree (vu), becomes the tonic; the semitone–semi-augmented second trichord becomes semitone–tone, and ga becomes a fixed degree (Fig. 4.14, Bunescu 1886: 12–13). Although the mode preserves its diphonic structure, the intervals differ from the Byzantine ones, and the sonority is clearly different (ibidem: 1–16, 20–33, 48–53).

Ion Popescu-Pasărea is acknowledged—not only by Vancea, Moldoveanu and Vasile, but also by other critics—for harmonising the Byzantine chants. I analysed one of his Divine Liturgy chant volumes, the one meant for two-part school choirs (Popescu-Pasărea 1914). The style of some chants is the “classical” one, from the time of the Three Teachers: *Veniți să ne închinăm* (Δεῦτε προσκυνήσουμε), *Doamne mântuește* (Κύριε σῶσον τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς), *Văzut-am lumina* (Εἶδομεν τὸ Φῶς). The melodies of other chants have Byzantine characteristics, but belong to a newer layer: *Eirinika*; the *Leitourgika* by Naniescu; *Fie numele Domnului* (Εἰη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου)—composed in mode 4 plagal, while, traditionally, it was sung in mode 2 (Lingas 2008: 7–9, cf. Ψάχος 2004: 139–140); the *cherouvikon*—in which most syllables last for two beats; the *megalynarion*—in mode 1 plagal, with frequent chromatic modulations. The departure from the *psaltic* style is sharper in the arrangements of two pieces composed by chanters from mid-nineteenth century (Nicolae Apostolescu and Ghelasie the Bessarabian):

the Antiphons and the *Trisagion*.⁸³ *Unul sfânt* (Εἰς Ἄγιος) has tonal influences, and the responses at the Litany of Fervent Supplication are those sung by Pann in his childhood, when he was a soprano in a harmonic choir in Chişinău (see footnote 53, chapter 4).

Fig. 4.14

Alegro-Moderato. ALTELE NO. 3.

Pen tru ru gă ciu ni le năş cǎ tó - reî de Dum ne ǎeş mǎn tu i

to ru le mǎn tu e sce ne pre noi. Mǎn tu e sce ne pre noi

fi u lui Dum ne ǎeş cel ce ăî în vi iat din moî pre noi - că - pre noi ca

⁸³ For Nicolae Apostolescu as the author of the antiphons, see Ionescu 2003: 183–184 and Popescu-Pasărea 1925: 150.

Fig. 4.14

ri'ți cân tăm - ți e A li lu i a.

ri'ți cân tăm

cân tăm - ți e A li lu i a.

For
D.G.
Kiriak'
s
sources
, I used
Father
Sebasti

an Barbu-Bucur's research. Most of the melodies are Byzantine and come from collections by Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann, Nectarie Frimu and Ion Popescu-Pasărea. A large part of these has been harmonised by the above mentioned composers as well: Frimu's antiphons, *Pre Tatăl...* (*Πατέραν, Υιόν...* from the *Leitourgika*) and *Our Father* by Pann, the *Leitourgika* by Naniescu, Gheorghe Ionescu's Cherubic Hymn. There are also some chants for which Barbu-Bucur did not find any source and which he regards as Kiriak's compositions in Byzantine style (Barbu-Bucur 1974: 702–704).

To sum up, only a part of the compositions usually regarded as national or traditional come from the Byzantine chant repertoire, the others being tonal pieces, most probably created by the composers themselves. Then, the majority of these pieces from the chant anthologies are new compositions, written by the Romanian chanters from the mid-nineteenth century and they draw more or less close to the secular music, including the tonal one. The variety of acquired chants is not so vast; for every liturgical moment, certain chants were taken in particular: Ștefanache Popescu's Great Litany, Naniescu's and Frimu's antiphons, the *Leitourgika* by Pann or Naniescu, and so on. As far as the mode is concerned, most of them belong to an intersection zone, between mode 4 plagal and major, or between mode 1 plagal and minor. A smaller number of pieces come from chants

in mode 2—traditionally, the most common mode of the Liturgy chants—, whose scale is usually altered to a diatonic scale.

CONCLUSIONS

The statements of the musicologists analysed in Chapter 3 regarding the characteristic traits of the Romanian chant prove, to a large extent, false. Both the adaptations and the compositions of the most important Romanian chanters, and the prefaces of the volumes edited by them, do not offer evidence for supporting the Romanians' preference for concise chants, for certain modal characteristics (including diatonicism),⁸⁴ or for certain melodic intervals. Adapting the chants into Romanian was not accompanied by abridging them or by the systematic elimination of *kratimata*, melismas or chromatic elements; these actions are met in certain contexts—and so are their opposed actions: lengthening the chants, adding chromatic elements etc.—and can be explained by other causes than the adjustment to the national spirit or to the Romanian folk music, such as stylistic changes of the time in an area larger than the Romanian principalities, the decline in the chanters' professional standing, creating simpler versions for the seminary pupils, and so on.

Many of the chants considered as models for their national spirit prove devoid of the characteristics declared specifically Romanian (conciseness, the absence of melismas, etc.) or reveal a foreign origin, be it Greek—the Palm Sunday Canon, for instance—or Western.

⁸⁴ Explaining certain melodic lines based on some specifically Romanian modal features—the Ionian–Aeolian alternation, the interpretation of the *chroa hisar* or that of the harmonic minor as folk Romanian modes, as Vasile or Popescu-Pasărea state—is unconvincing. On the one hand, because the features mentioned are not so frequently met in the traditional Romanian music as the authors suggest; on the other hand, because the particulars of a piece—at least for the traditional Romanian music—are given not by the modal scales, used by other nations as well, but by the melodic formulae and their combination (cf. Ciobanu 1992b: 192–193).

Therefore, the Romanian church music may have certain distinctive features, but, at this point in time, it is hard to say which those are. However, they are certainly not those the Romanian musicologists commonly work with. Identifying these should rely on a thorough examination, which implies comparisons within the various genres (e.g. *apolytikia*, large *katavasies*, *cherouvika* for week days etc.) between the compositions of Romanian and Greek authors from various time periods, and this goes far beyond the topic of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 5: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL CHURCH MUSIC

The matter regarding the construction of the Romanian national church music is, naturally, connected to the construction of the Romanian nation. If the opinions of researchers in national studies differ in as far as theoretical issues about the nation are concerned (see the section Modern Theories of the Nation and Nationalism from the Introduction), in the particular case of Romanians, the matter is much simpler. The general approach is that the Romanian nation, like most nations from Eastern Europe, was set up in the second half of the nineteenth century, together with the foundation of the modern independent state, with a single economy and a developed system of public education, in which a large part of the inhabitants take part in the political life, and as the ideology of nationalism spread and the citizens identified themselves with the national myths and symbols. In addition, the ethno-symbolists consider that for understanding the process of national construction, it is important to study the identity elements of the communities before the national era; in the Romanians' case, the documents support the idea of a Romanian *ethnie*—in Anthony Smith's acceptance of the term—from around the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries.¹

If regarding the Romanian ethnicity one can speak of a much earlier date than 1821—the year when the time period particularly examined by this thesis starts—, not the same thing happens with church music. There are no sources which can support the existence of a Romanian “ethnic” church music in this time period. In other words, we do not have any indication that the Romanians had

¹ A collection of old sources regarding the Romanians' ethnicity is Armbruster 1993. The interpretation of the oldest sources (tenth–thirteenth centuries) by the author according to which the Romanians were an “ethnic reality”, aware of its Roman origin, is nevertheless exaggerated (see also Berza 1993). In line with Vlad Georgescu, the Romanian ethnic identity crystallized following a process which began in the fourteenth century and ended at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Georgescu 1995: 84–85).

perceived the music from their churches different from that from Constantinople.² We could speculate that certain peculiarities might have become elements of ethnic identity: first of all the Romanian language, which acquired an important role in the church music around the mid-eighteenth century, replacing to a large extent the Slavonic and the Greek languages.³ Apart from language, other identity elements could have been hymns sung only in the Romanian churches (the *pripěla* by Filothej, the monk from Cozia)⁴ or pieces particularly used by Romanians (for instance, compositions of Evstatie, the monk from Putna,⁵ the Palm Sunday

² In the dedication of the first manuscript containing chants in Romanian with musical notation (1713), Filothei the Hieromonk shows that he translated the texts of the chants for them to be understood by the service participants, that he noted them down “with the craft of the chant in the Greek modes, for more sweetness and propriety” and that he did not follow “other Latin and Russian crafts, but the same kinds of music of our eastern Church teachers”. The fact that Filothei the Hieromonk refers to his work as “Wallachio-music” (Rom.: *Vlaho-musichie*) does not mean, in my opinion, that he considers it a distinct music, but that he draws attention to its novel aspect—Byzantine music with Romanian text—as he shows in the poem at the end of the dedication: “holy chant / [...] was adapted, to your benefit, / Which, with difficulty, was drawn from Greekness. / Through Romanian words, and Greek modes, / To delight heart and soul” (transliterated in Barbu-Bucur 1981: 164–165).

³ The chant in Romanian probably appeared at the end of the sixteenth century, with the Romanians that lived on territories that do not represent the subject of this thesis (in central Transylvania and Banat). In Wallachia and Moldavia it developed starting from the middle of the following century, but it was limited for roughly a century to a few important churches and used alternatively with Greek. The printing of the worship books in Slavonic ceased around 1740, and since then they were edited only in Romanian (Mareş 1969: 241–244, 250–251; idem 1973; Deletant 1980: 19–21; Georgescu 1995: 80–81).

⁴ Filothej’s *pripěla* were written at the beginning of the fifteenth century, probably at the Cozia Monastery. They gradually spread to the other Slavic language Orthodox churches, and after two or three centuries they ceased circulating outside the Romanian space (Simedrea 2006: 56–61, 66–68). Aside from the *pripěla*, there was no research done on other hymns with limited circulation in the Romanian churches.

⁵ From the chants created by the monks of the Putna school, only five compositions by Evstatie were more widespread: the Cherubic hymns in modes 1, 3 and 1 plagal, *Τόσοι εις Χριστόν* (sic) and *Τον σταυρόν σου*, in six out of the eleven manuscripts from Putna known at the date when the catalogue of Evstatie’s works was drawn up (1986, see Moisescu 1994: 318, footnote).

Katavasies or the *Moldavian Anoixantaria* by Iosif the Monk from Neamț).⁶ It is improbable for a Romanian style to have existed among the identity elements, although some musicologists desired to see in the *βλάχικα* qualificative, added to some chants in manuscripts, an indication in this regard. The term most probably refers to the fact that the text is in Romanian, and not to a composition style.⁷

The Romanian language used in the chants and the pieces with specific text and/or music could have become elements of ethnic identity, but this happened only to the extent that people wanted to credit them with this quality. On the one hand, it was important for them to be sensitive to the ethnicity issue. To sing in Romanian had a totally different significance for the dweller of a town in which the Greeks were a visible presence, for the local boyars competing with the Phanariotes or for the monk of a monastery which was not dedicated, than for the peasant from a strictly Romanian area, whose universe stretched as far as the closest borough. For the latter, the chant in Romanian meant the possibility of understanding the text, and not a symbol by which he identified himself with the other Romanians and distinguished himself from other Orthodox people. On the

Other two pieces of Evstatie can be found in three manuscripts, a chant by Dometian Vlahu—a composer who probably did not live at Putna, but whose single composition is known from the manuscripts copied here—in four manuscripts, while the rest of the compositions from Putna circulated in one or two manuscripts. All manuscripts of the Putna School were copied in the sixteenth century; hence, the chances that these chants might have been sung at the beginning of the nineteenth century are minimal (Moisescu 1996a: 35–51; idem 1996b: 104; idem 1996c: 110).

⁶ For the circulation of Iosif's *Anoixantaria* see Barbu-Bucur 1976: 142, 157, 178–179, Vasile 2001: 110–118.

⁷ Referring to the indication from ms. 142 of the Romanian Academy Library (eighteenth century), Gheorghe Ciobanu wrote in 1967: “We cannot tell yet whether this chant displays certain Romanian stylistic traits, but one must carefully examine it, in order to see what we are talking about”. Five years later, Ciobanu appealed to the same indication to state, this time: “The continuous search for setting the melodic line—in the case of the translations—in agreement with the prosody and with the word order of the Romanian language did not take long to confirm some Romanian traits”, without specifying which those traits were and what specific research led to that discovery (Ciobanu 1974e: 292; idem 1974c: 304).

other hand, people needed to have the possibility and competence to realize the capacity of elements as carriers of identity. The Romanian language could easily be acknowledged as such, but very few people that could be found in church when the *pripěla* of Filothej were sung (at the beginning of the Matins) knew they did not exist in the usage of Greeks and very few could distinguish a composition by Evstatie by a homonymous one composed, for instance, by Xenos Koronis.

To sum up, it is not out of the question that in the first few years of the 19th century the Romanians might have perceived their church music as having particular ethnic features, but this is not certain. As I shall show in this chapter, the evidence regarding the existence of church music perceived as Romanian appears after 1820, while national church music is constructed after the mid-19th century.

THE ROMANIAN CHURCH MUSIC BEFORE THE AGE OF THE NATION STATE (1821–1862)

In the first half of the nineteenth century a series of actions took place that set the ground for the appearance of national church music: the Constantinople repertoire was adapted into Romanian, printed and taught in Romanian schools, together with the theory of the New Method; the chant in Greek decreased in favour of that in Romanian; the Western music started being known throughout society, the church choirs started making their appearance and so on. However, in this era, one cannot yet talk about a Romanian national church music, as the writers analysed in the third chapter of this thesis maintained. I shall show in this section that the chanters from Wallachia and Moldavia did not consider their church music essentially different from that of the Greeks and I shall examine the technique for adapting the chants into Romanian, for the particular case of the *stichera* in the first mode from the *anastasimataria* printed in this period.

The image of the Romanian church music in the first half of the nineteenth century

The main works that allow us to outline an image of the Romanian church music in this time period are Macarie the Hieromonk's and Anton Pann's prefaces, mentioned in the previous chapter. Macarie's preface is a vibrant urge for the chant in Romanian, while that of Pann is a history of the church chant taken from Greek sources and continued with a short history of the Romanian adapters, among whom Pann is the last. Other information on the topic can be found in books edited by other Romanian chanters.

Patriotism and the matters of the Enlightenment have a central place in Macarie the Hieromonk's preface. The awakening and the enhancement (i.e. the progress) of the Romanian nation (Rom.: *neam*)—which he identifies with the Romans and calls as such many times throughout the text—can be done, according to Macarie, by coming back to the Homeland language. Macarie speaks highly of the theological translations of his contemporaries from Wallachia and Moldavia—“more plentifully, with better order and deeper understanding we have them now, than other neighbouring nations”—as well as of the newly established schools in which “all the sciences of the philosophy in the Roman language of the homeland” are taught and he sets beside these actions the chant in Romanian: “daringly sing the chants, as well as God Have Mercy, in Roman, in the language of Your Homeland, become a lover of your People and be useful to your Homeland”. The awakening and the enlightenment of the nation or the proper order are not topics approached by the other adapters as well; on the one hand, because their intellectual horizon was more modest than that of Macarie the Hieromonk, on the other hand, because in their time, the Enlightenment had lost ground to the romantic nationalism (in their prefaces there are references to nation (Rom.: *neam* and *națiune*), or homeland⁸; Macarie 1823b: iii–vi, xii–xiv; Pann 1847a, 1: vii; Suceveanu quoted in Buzera 1999b: 312).⁹

⁸ For replacing the concept of *homeland* with that of *nation* at the mid-nineteenth century in the Romanian principalities, see Bochmann 2010.

⁹ In this period, the attachment to the nation is less important than that to the Church. This hierarchy is visible in the preface of Suceveanu's *Idiomelar*: “It is a beautiful thing for every Romanian [...] to contribute and work to the benefit of his nation. [...] But much more

For Macarie the Hieromonk, the chant of the Romanians is part of a tradition inspired by the Holy Ghost, which starts with the anonymous melodists, continues with saints John of Damascus and John Koukouzelis and reaches the great Constantinople chanters. The chant was the same in Tsarigrad, on the Holy Mountain, in the Romanian principalities and in other parts of the Eastern Church, until Petros Lampadarios' time: "there was a certain established music that was sung to God in Church, all over the world [...]. The Fathers from the Holy Mountain would come and sing in the Holy Churches of Tsarigrad, and chanters from Constantinople would go and sing in the Holy Churches of the Holy Mountain, and that was a pleasant and welcomed chant, as well as in other parts and in our principalities" (Macarie 1823b: vii, ix–x). I showed in the previous chapter that Macarie has special appreciation for the great Constantinople chanters, starting with Petros Bereketis and ending with the Three Teachers and that Pann speaks highly of Greek chanters, from St. John Koukouzelis to Petros Vyzantios and Dionysios Foteinos.

As I have shown, Macarie takes a distance from what he considers the dominant trend of the contemporary Greek chant, deeply influenced by the secular chant, including the Turkish one. Nevertheless, Macarie does not refer—like many of the writers analysed in Chapter 3 believed—to the great Greek composers of his time, as in his volumes one can find many chants by Grigorios Protopsaltis, Chourmouzios Chartofylax, Georgios Kris and Dionysios Foteinos. Also, neither is he against moderate loans from the secular music, as are, in his opinion those from Petros Lampadarios' chants.

Macarie the Hieromonk's opposition to the new chant infused with secular influences is doubled by that against the Greeks who objected to the reawakening of the Roman people—in Macarie's view about the Romanians—and to their return to the glory they once had. The Hieromonk throws harsh words at the Greek people, he reminds the obstacles the Greeks set to the establishment of

beautiful is when every cleric is inspired and can contribute to his duties to the nation, which does not ask for anything else but the fruit of the talent, to the praise and glory of God's house" (Suceveanu, quoted in Buzera 1999b: 312).

Gheorghe Lazăr's higher classes in Romanian and to the use of Romanian in the church chant and is careful to answer to the Greeks' accusations, according to which the chant of Romanians was lacking in craft. He defines the church music of the Romanians in opposition to the new Greek chant and refutes the Greek chanters' viewpoint, valuing positively qualities that to the latter were flaws. Thus, the chant *in the language of the Homeland* promoted by Macarie is characterised not only by Romanian text, but also by peculiar musical features (Macarie 1823b: iv, vii, ix–xii).

The main distinctive element of the two kinds of music is the *pronunciation of Tsarigrad*. Its absence from the Romanians' chant brought the Greeks' disdain to the former. On the contrary, for Macarie, its absence was a quality, as the Tsarigrad pronunciation was nothing but *Turkish style*. Actually, its advocates were the same as those who mixed the old chants with new secular pieces, including “those that the Turks sing in cafés and in their gatherings”. The text leaves the impression that the pronunciation and the repertoire were inseparable—“new chants and the pronunciation of Tsarigrad (Rom.: *profora de Țarigrad*), new chants and the Tsarigrad style (Rom.: *yfos de Țarigrad*)”—, equally contributing to the definition of the Greek-Turkish music condemned by Macarie (ibidem: ix–x).

Lacking the Tsarigrad style, the Romanian chant is *sweet* and *natural*. Compared to the Romanian chanters, the voice of the foremost Greek master (Rom.: *dascāl*) who came “in the years past [...] in our lands” seemed like “a wild sound such as that of an owlet, compared to the pleasant sounding swallows”. Macarie maintains that the Greeks themselves acknowledged the qualities of the Romanian chanters: the aforementioned Greek master praised and marvelled at the timbre and vocal technique of Romanians.¹⁰ In another part of the text, he mentions Anastasios Rapsaniotis, who came with the thought of settling to Wallachia. When he “saw the perfection of the craft, and heard the ever sweet voice of Șărban, Constandin and of the other Cantors from our People, was

¹⁰ We do not know who the cantor Macarie refers to is, but it is not out of the question to have been Petros Vyzantios or Agapios Paliermos.

frightened and, finding himself unnecessary and not showing up for many days, returned and died in his country” (ibidem: ix–xi).

Against the Greeks’ accusation that “the other nations, following the Europeans, cannot bring their voice to the steps of the scales”, Macarie answered that the respective scales are “natural” with the Romanians and that they tread better than the Greeks on the steps of the scale. The accusation was allegedly caused by the “their [i.e. the Greeks’] satanic pride”. The Greeks who did not wish to acknowledge the merits of the Romanians did it “out of spite and envy [...], because they begrudge us and under no circumstances do they want to see or hear our Good and our Enhancement [...] and our enlightenment” (ibidem: x–xii).

The differences between the chant of the Romanians and that of the Greeks belong thus to the moment, and do not come from intrinsic qualities of the two peoples. Macarie does not state that the Romanian music is different from the Greek one because the two peoples are different, but that the Greeks—most of them—had departed of late from the true church chant. Although Macarie does not state it explicitly, his words suggest that the Romanians are the keepers of the traditional Orthodox chant, abandoned by the Greeks. Macarie clearly shows as well that his intention was not the removal of the Greek chant, but the use of the Romanian language: “The purpose of my endeavour is not to urge to a complete elimination of the things Greek, but, craving, with patriotic craving I craved, that, like all other peoples which make use of their own in everything, and the foreign things they only respect like the first, we, the Romans, should also [...] make use of our own things, rather than the foreign ones” (Macarie, quoted in Moisescu 1985a: 141).

The chanters after Macarie leave us less information about the differences between the Greek and the Romanian chant; naturally, the context had changed: the chant in Romanian had spread, and the Phanariote elites had lost the political and cultural power. The chanters and the bishops seem to confirm Macarie’s general approach: the Constantinople melody must be preserved as faithfully as possible, and the Romanian language is necessary for understanding the text. Thus, bishop Chesarie of Buzău records his wish to print the *Engomia* “exactly

according to the composition and character (Rom.: *înființare*)¹¹ of the Greek chants [...] so that this holy thing should remain forever and unchanged”; the same for the *Eulogitaria* by Petros Lampadarios, “for only some like these are welcomed by the Great Holy Church [Ecumenical Patriarchate]” (Chesarie in 1836, reproduced in Buzera 1999b: 322–323). The Hierodeacon Nectarie Frimu underlines the faithfulness of the adaptation of the chants in his anthology for the Liturgy: “it is translated and attuned to the text of the Romanian words, from the Greek original, as appropriately as possible, according to the style of our Romanian language, so there is no difference between the setting to music of the Greek text and this Romanian text” (Nectarie (1840), reproduced in Buzera 1999b: 314). Pann—in addition to the explanations presented in the previous chapter: “The chants are the same and the melody is the same, I did not add one single figure”—, is careful to print the *automela* with the same melodies as the Greek ones; many of these models do not appear with the text of the *automelon*, perhaps because Pann could not set it to the original metric, but to that of a *proshomion* (for instance, *Alexandre bune păstor* (Παμμάκαρ Αλέξανδρε ποιμήν) instead of *Prealăudaților mucenici* (Πανεύφημοι μάρτυρες): “[Instead of] the *Automela* (*Proshomoia*) of the Modes I matched other *Troparia* exactly after the Greek ones regarding the rhythms [i.e. metrical feet] and Stresses, so that those who don’t know the Greek [*automela*] to become familiar with the features of each of the *automela* and to try to adjust through these the Romanian ones, which are not yet regulated [the Romanian *proshomoia* translated without obeying the principles of isosyllaby and homotony], so as one could sing exactly after the *automelon* noted above it.” (Pann 1854a: 1).

After Macarie, the only author who discusses the characteristics of the Romanian chant is Pann, in a much quoted passage, which I appealed to in the previous chapters: “I also cleansed the external figures that were very much like the Asian ones and hard for the listeners, and I fit them to the nearest church melody, following the way and the style of the old people from the Holy

¹¹ *Înființare* is the equivalent of the Greek *Ποιόν* (see Macarie 1823c, 1:1; Χρύσανθος 1821, 1:1) and refers to rhythm and ornamentation.

Mountain and especially of the Homeland; (because church music achieved its national character long ago, and only the Tsarigrad style has remained close to the Asian one)”. The interpretation of the *national character* is far from being simple. Pann does not speak anywhere else about musical differences between the Romanian chant and the Greek one, so that we could assume the national character refers to peculiar features of a Romanian chant. On the other hand, placing the bracket right before “Homeland” makes it hard to believe that this national character could be anything but Romanian. The text suggests that specific to the national character are the absence of the Tsarigrad style (as a compositional style, this time) and of the external figures, similar to the Asian ones, and that the national style is close to that of the Holy Mountain. If this interpretation is correct, then Pann’s view of the Romanian chant is parallel to that held by Macarie: it is not essentially different from the church chant in Greek; it is only different from the trend which was popular in Constantinople and which abounded in external figures.¹²

Devices of adapting Byzantine chants into Romanian¹³

I mentioned in the previous chapter that the adaptation of melismatic pieces into Romanian does not raise any special problem: the original melody could be kept

¹² Pann uses one more time the expression “national style”, referring to two *megalyrnaria Axion estin* noted by him in his youth and revised in the very year of his death: “These being composed in Romanian and Greek by me, Anton Pann, in 1822, were revised in 1854, January 30th. In the old national style.” The *megalyrnaria* are noted in much detail and are similar from the melodic point of view with those elaborated in that time on *maqamat* scales (first in the mode plagal 1 *atzem*, the second in mode plagal 2). The term “composed” should be understood as “noted”, since the second bears the inscription “From Priest Ioaniță Năpârcă, which was another Koukouzelis of the Romanians, set to music by me, Anton Pann, in Greek and Romanian in 1822.” In this context, I believe that “national” must be understood as “folkloric”, according to its significance at that time: Pann refers to the fact that the pieces had had an oral character and a different melody than the ordinary Byzantine one (Pann 1854c: 30–36).

¹³ The first half of this section was published in a similar form as Moisil 2006 and the second as Moisil 2011.

almost unchanged, the only care being to place the Romanian syllables properly. In the case of syllabic and short melismatic chants, the task of the adapter is more difficult, because of rhythmical and accentuation reasons, as I shall show below in this section. I analysed the *stichera anastasima* in the first mode from the three *anastasimataria* printed in Wallachia and Moldavia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The editors of the three volumes are Macarie the Hieromonk, Dimitrie Suceveanu and Anton Pann, respectively. I compared the Romanian version with the Greek original, trying to determine a few principles applied, wittingly or unwittingly, by cantors in the adaptation of chants in Romanian. I examined 23 *stichera* for each *anastasimatarion*: 8 *stichera* for Vespers including the *Dogmatikon*, 4 *aposticha* and their *Theotokion*, and 10 for Lauds (including the *Pasapnoaria* whose style was alike). I left aside the *Kekragarion* and the *Eothinon*, which presented a few melodic peculiarities. I shall describe thoroughly the results of the analysis in the case of Macarie's adaptation and I shall check if the rules of adaptation I discovered hold true in the cases of Pann and Suceveanu too.

Before describing the mechanism for adapting the music to the Romanian text, I consider it necessary to present in general lines the structure of the pieces in the first *sticheraric* mode, as they appear in the *Anastasimatarion* edited by Petros Efesios. A *sticheron* is made of 2 to 20 musical phrases, usually between 6 and 10. In the first part of the phrase, to each beat corresponds a syllable, accented syllables being placed one second or one third higher from a certain polarizing pitch: *pa* or *ga*.¹⁴ For the most part, the melody appears in this first section as a concatenation of simple descending motifs, from the pitches on which accented syllables meet to the polarizing pitch, which is often repeated. The second part of the phrase, more varied melodically than the first, and in which the duration of syllables is two or four beats,¹⁵ is the cadence formula (see Fig. 5.1, Εφέσιος

¹⁴ The syllables at the end of the first part have sometimes a duration of two beats.

¹⁵ The last syllable of some formulae may be reduced to one beat, while the phrase that contains the formula continues with the following phrase without a stop. In other situations, the phrases may merge without diminishing the duration of the syllable, the last note of the first phrase

1999: 8).



Fig. 5.1

Cadence formulae can be divided in perfect and imperfect. Three perfect cadence formulae and eight imperfect ones appear relatively often, another three formulae—two perfect and one imperfect—being used occasionally. Perfect cadence formulae correspond to the end of an idea in the literary text (and coincide more or less with the point or raised point), contain between five and eight syllables, last between 14 and 18 beats, and close on *pa*. Imperfect cadence formulae usually correspond to a comma in the text, contain between two and six syllables, last between four and ten beats, and close on *pa* or *ga*.¹⁶ The formulae

being at the same time the first note of the second phrase.

¹⁶ One may distinguish a hierarchy of imperfect cadences. The weaker are the “short” ones (*pa*5, *pa*6), their cadence status appearing sometimes as less certain. (With Macarie the Hieromonk, the *pa*6 formula is seldom used, and *pa*5 is used rather as median formula; with Macarie, the end of the *pa*5 formula sometimes does not coincide with that of the word.) The stronger are the rest of *pa* cadences. Cadences on *ga* occupy an intermediate position, often occurring in the middle of an idea in the text.

appear throughout the 23 *stichera* in various versions; the basic versions are shown in Fig. 5.2.¹⁷



Fig. 5.2

Cadence formulae have a quadruple metre. Stressed syllables must start on the first beat, while the unaccented ones may start on the first or third. The duration of a syllable is two beats, except for some associated to particular motifs in the perfect cadence formulae, which last four beats (see Figure 5.2, where the legato marks the duration of a syllable). In addition, an accented syllable may last four beats, if between it and the next accented syllable there is an even number of syllables; thus is avoided the placement of an accent on the third beat (see Fig. 5.3, Εφέσιος 1999: 239 (from the *Eothinon*), 21–22, 26).



Fig.
5.3

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¹⁷ A first list
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the phrase contain, on the average, the same number of syllables—around five. As far as duration is concerned, though, the second part is usually longer, due to the different number of beats corresponding to a syllable in each of the two parts of the phrase. Sometimes a phrase consists of only one cadence formula.

Between the polarizing pitch of the first part of the phrase and the ensuing cadence formula there is a close correlation, connected to the beginning of the formula; for instance, the P1 formula is preceded by a melodic fragment dependent on *ga*, while P3 by a fragment polarized by *pa*.

The succession of phrases suggests the existence of larger structures: the periods, made of 1–5 phrases and closing with a perfect cadence. In a period, the phrases follow specific concatenation rules: first come phrases closing on a “short” cadence (*pa5*, *pa6*); then follows one of the rest of the phrases with a cadence on *pa*, then those on *ga*, and finally the phrase that contains the perfect cadence. A “long” cadence on *pa* (of type 1, 2, 3 or 4) cannot be followed directly by another cadence on *pa*. A cadence on *ga* cannot be followed by a P3 phrase, because the first part of the latter is polarized by *pa*. The concatenation of the periods is free; the only rule says that the last period of the *sticheron* must be a P2 type one.¹⁸

The *Anastasimatarion* of Macarie the Hieromonk (Macarie 1823a) is the translation of the volume edited by Petros Efesios (Εφέσιος 1999 [1820]), whose *stichera* were composed by Petros Lampadarios. Macarie wrote the *stichera* by

¹⁸ I verified whether these rules, deduced from the research of the 23 *stichera* in the *Anastasimatarion*, are also observed in the other work in new *sticheraric* style noted by Petros Lampadarios, the *Doxastarion*. I studied the 18 *stichera* in mode 1 and the initial and final phrases of three other *stichera* that start and end in mode 1, but also modulate the rest of the piece, in Πέτρος 2000. The rules described above are very seldom broken: in one case, a phrase cadenced on *pa* follows one cadenced on *ga*; in three situations, there is an immediate succession of two “long” cadences on *pa*; and once, the final cadence is not of the P2 type, but P4.

With Macarie the Hieromonk, the succession of two “long” cadences on *pa* appears four times, and once the *pa5* cadence follows a “long” *pa* cadence. In addition, he does not use only P2 as a final cadence but also P4.

adapting the original music to pre-existent texts in Romanian, rather faithful translations in prose of the Greek liturgical writings. The texts used by Macarie are almost identical to those of the first *Anastasimatarion* in Romanian, adapted by Filothei the Hieromonk in 1713, and the minor differences are probably owed to philological rather than musical reasons. In most cases, the word order in the Romanian text follows the one in Greek, the most frequent exception being the placement of the attribute after the determined noun, not before, as in Greek.

Macarie's goal was to keep unchanged not only the text, but also the original music in Romanian. Macarie pointed to this in a letter: „we are obliged to keep the *melos* unchanged too, and if there should be more or fewer syllables, and unsuitable accents, be very careful in replacing them” (Moisescu 1985a: 125). Thus, the task of the composer was to fit the Romanian text to the Greek melody by dilating or compressing musical phrases, as the case might have been, and attributing particular positions to accented syllables. Paradoxically, keeping the melody “unchanged” entailed some modifications; contrariwise, the absence of these modifications would have meant the actual change of the music: „putting those very signs on a word that comes twice as long or as short as the Greek one is sheer stupidity. [...] Moreover, to alter the flow of the Melody because of the length or shortness of the word, is un-feeling, completely wrong and a sin” (Macarie 1823b: vi).

I compared the form of hymns by Petros and by Macarie. For the two *Anastasimataria*, I obtained comparable averages regarding: the number of syllables in a musical phrase; the ratio between the number of syllables between the two parts of the musical phrase; and the ratio between the number of perfect and imperfect cadences. Likewise, I obtained a high degree of concordance regarding the place of cadences: in over 80% of the cases, cadences occur at the same point of the literary text,¹⁹ and in over 70% of the cases on the same pitch.²⁰

¹⁹ Whenever the word order in Romanian determined the inversion of words, I considered as concordant the situation in which two nearby cadences delimit the same words, irrespective of their order.

²⁰ I obtained these figures by ignoring the “short” cadence formulae on *pa*; taking them into

Certainly, the fact that these values are very high is not surprising. However, it reveals that the partition of a piece into major syntactic units was made by Romanian translators in a very similar way to Petros’.

More interestingly, in 40% of the cases Macarie the Hieromonk cadenced not only in the same place and on the same pitch as Petros Lampadarios, but also used the same cadence formula. This proportion is high, as the concordance between Petros’ and Pann’s short melismatic *stichera* in Pann 1847b—an original *anastasimatarion* in Romanian, not a translation of Petros’ book—is only 15%. Thus, it seems that the presence of the same cadence formula at the same point of the hymn in almost half of the cases is not coincidental, but fulfilling Macarie’s wish.

The problem that arose is this: if Macarie was indeed concerned with using the same formulae as in the Greek source, the 40% percentage seems little. Why didn’t Macarie act so as to have in all the cases, or at least in the majority, the same formulae as in Petros’ *Anastasimatarion*? The answer lies in the connection between a cadence formula and the position occupied by an accented syllable in the literary text that corresponds to the formula. With Petros, this connection is very strong in the case of nine formulae: pa3 and pa4 correspond to an accent on the last syllable; pa2, pa6 and P1—to an accent on the penultimate syllable; pa1, P3 and—almost always—ga1 and P2—to an accent on the antepenultimate syllable.²¹ In about three-quarters of the cases, the ga2 formula has an accent on the penultimate syllable, and the pa5 formula on the antepenultimate syllable.

account would have diminished the percentages by about 5%. I calculated the percentage by referring the situations of coincidence to the total number of cadences, the latter including both the cadences in Greek chants that may not be found in Romanian chants, and those in Romanian chants that do not appear in Greek ones. Below I shall give the percentage including pa5 and pa6 formulae only if it differs from the one excluding them by more than 5%.

²¹ Depending on the context, monosyllabic words may be assimilated to accented or unaccented syllables. A cadence formula may contain a second, even a third, accented syllable, without cancelling the relation formula–presence of an accent on a specific syllable thereby.

Of the six cases in which the P2 formula is associated with an accent on the last syllable, two occur when P2 is the final formula.

Table 5.1: The frequency of cadences

	pa1		pa2	pa3	pa4			pa5			pa6	ga1			ga2			
	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>
Petros	10	–	8	18	–	–	4	14	2	–	7	23	–	2	–	–	21	6
Macarie	4	1	10	18	2	3	7	5	3	2	3	5	18	2	1	1	14	18

	P1		P2				P3			P4		
	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>
Petros	12	–	–	39 (34)	–	6 (11)	8	–	–	1	2	–
Macarie	17	2	2	24 (7)	5 (11)	7 (18)	2 (–)	1	2 (4)	–	15	3

With Macarie, the situation appears as changed (see Table 5.1): only five formulae follow the accentuation manner attributed by Petros (pa1, pa2, pa3, pa6 and P1). The ga1 formula has a connection with a certain position of the accents, but different from that of Petros. In another three formulae, pa4, pa5 and ga2, the connection with particular accentuation is missing, or much weaker. The P2 and P3 formulae require a separate discussion. In the case of the P2 formula, the rule is observed in a relatively large number of cases, 24 out of 38, the formula being associated with an accent on the antepenultimate syllable. But the data allow for another interpretation too. In the case of the P2 formula, the last three syllables of the Romanian text often carry more than a single accent. The one on the antepenultimate syllable sometimes appears as less important than the accent on the penultimate or final syllable. If we correlate the 38 P2 formulae with the most important of literary accents, we obtain a distribution that is quite different from the previous one (see the table data between parentheses): now the formula seems to have no connection with an accent on the antepenultimate syllable. Analogously, according to the new interpretation, the P3 formula loses the connection with the accent on the antepenultimate syllable, and becomes

connected to the accentuation of the last syllable.²²

Therefore, Macarie took into account the connection between cadence formulae and a particular accentuation, albeit to a lesser degree than Petros. The principle of keeping, for a literary passage, the cadence formula from the Greek original, and that of correlating formulae with accentuation, cannot be observed both integrally and simultaneously. Macarie decided for a median solution, partially observing both: he kept the cadence formulae in almost half of the cases, and correlated only half of the formulae with a particular accentuation.

An explanation of the changes operated by Macarie in the relations cadence formula–accentuation may be the different frequency—in the Greek and Romanian texts respectively—of the position of literary accents in the text passages associated with the end of cadence formulae. In the case of *stichera* in Greek, to about half of the cadence formulae corresponds an accent on the antepenultimate syllable, to 30% on the penultimate, and to 20% on the last. As far as the Romanian text is concerned, the situation is different: to only 15% (approximately), an accent on the antepenultimate syllable, to 45% on the penultimate, and to 40% on the last. In the particular case of the end of *stichera*, the difference is even greater: out of 23 *stichera*, 21 have in Greek an accent on the antepenultimate syllable (which probably fostered the prevalence of the P2 formula as the singular final cadence formula), while 18 have in Romanian an accent on the penultimate syllable. It looks as if Macarie had a surplus of formulae for cadences with an accent on the antepenultimate syllable at hand, and a deficit of the other two types. To solve the problem, Macarie acted in two ways. On the one hand, he utilized some of the formulae in excess in situations that required it. Thus, for words accented on the last syllable, he used some of the ga2 cadences (meant for an accent on the penultimate syllable in the Greek original), compensating the shortage thus created with ga1 cadences from the “stock”; similarly, he transferred the excess of P2 cadences to situations in which the accent fell on the last or penultimate syllable. On the other hand, he used the P4

²² One must notice that, in Greek chants, the formulae remain connected to the same accentuation in the case of correlation with the most important accent too.

formula (as final formula included), in association with the accent of the penultimate syllable, a formula that occurs rarely with Petros' mode 1 chants in the *Anastasimatarion*, but more often in those in the mode plagal 1 in the *Anastasimatarion*, or those in mode 1 in the *Heirmologion*.

Now let us go to the mechanisms of adaptation at the phrase level. For the first part of the phrase, adaptation does not pose any special problems. The chanter's sole concern was that the accented syllables of the Romanian text be on higher pitches than the unaccented, according to the above-mentioned rule, without paying heed to their original succession (see Fig. 5.4; up: Εφέσιος 1999: 22; down: Macarie 1823a: 24).

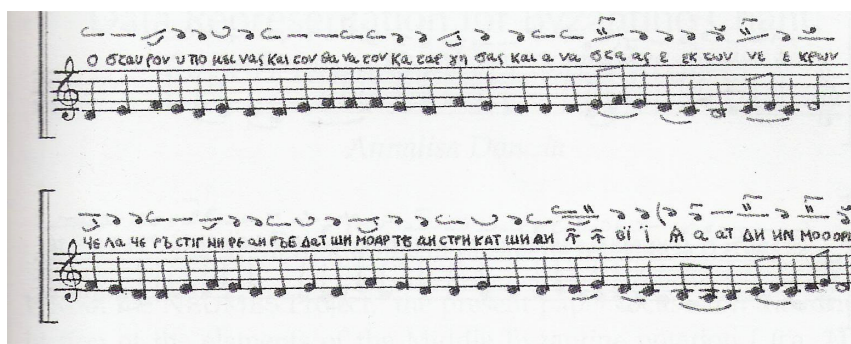


Fig.
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discuss the constraints and liberties in the mechanism of musical adaptation. It was mentioned above that the translator's express wish was to keep the original melody unaltered. Strictly speaking, this was impossible without breaking some unwritten composition rules, owing to the differences between the two languages; at the phrase level, this wish could be fulfilled only exceptionally (see Fig. 5.5; up: Εφέσιος 1999: 21; down: Macarie 1823a: 23). As for the rest of the situations, the most suitable solution was to attribute to a literary passage in Romanian the same cadence formula as in the corresponding *kolon* from the Greek text. The preservation of the cadence formula ensures the preservation of the same melody at the level of the entire musical phrase, as the melody of the first part of the phrase depended on the cadence formula. As I have already demonstrated, this solution was used in the adaptation of less than half of the musical phrases. I shall present now other means of adaptation, which can explain most of the

inconsistencies between the Greek and Romanian melodic versions. However, there remains a series of cases in which Macarie could have kept closer to the original melodic line. The fact that he did not suggests that keeping the melody unchanged did not rule out, in the view of early 19th-century chanters, a certain amount of freedom, which included, aside from the exceptions to the canons mentioned above, the occasional use of less common melodic formulae.

Figure 5.5 shows two musical staves. The top staff is labeled 'F' and the bottom staff is labeled 'T'. The top staff has the Greek text 'ΠΑ ΣΑ ΠΝΟ Η ΑΙ ΥΕ ΣΑ Ε ΕΩ ΣΟ ΟΥ ΚΥ' and the bottom staff has the Romanian text 'ТОАТЪ СЪ ФЛА ПЪ СЪ АН А Б Б Д Ε Ε ΠΡΕ Ε Ε Ε ΔΟ Ο Ο ΜΗΝΑ'. The Romanian text is longer than the Greek text, and the melodic line is adapted accordingly.

method of adaptation is replacing the original cadence with another one on the same pitch, but suitable to the accentuation in the Romanian text. For instance, a pa2 type cadence in the Greek source may be replaced with a pa4 type one, when the Romanian passage closes with an accent on the last syllable.

When the length of the Romanian text is substantially different from that of the Greek one, the translator can eliminate or add a cadence in order to avoid too short or too long phrases.²³ Thus, to the last two musical phrases of the sixth *sticheron* of Lauds, which in Greek have 13 syllables (7+6), corresponds in Romanian a passage of only 7 syllables (3+4). In this circumstance, Macarie eliminated a cadence, merging the two phrases into one. Conversely, at the end of *Πάσα πνοή*, the 8 syllables from the Greek are translated by 14 syllables in Romanian, and in the melodic line there appears an additional cadence formula, whose last syllable lasts only one beat (Fig. 5.6; up: Εφέσιος 1999: 22; down: Macarie 1823a: 23).

²³ The length of the phrases differs slightly, depending on the type of hymn. There are longer phrases in *aposticha* and *stichera* of Lauds, and shorter in *Dogmatikon*.

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ence in length, in combination with other factors, may favour another positioning of the cadences, by eliminating some and adding others, as in the passage in Fig. 5.7 (up: Εφέσιος 1999: 8; down: Macarie 1823a: 8). For the text in Romanian—which differs from the Greek one in the length of the entire passage (24 syllables compared to 18 syllables in Greek), by the translation of the word *δοξολογίαν* (5 syllables) through a periphrasis, *cuvântare de mărire* i.e. “glorifying speech” (8 syllables), and by the placement of the attributes after the complements—the partition propounded by Macarie seems more suitable than that in the Greek text, with the phrasing after the predicate.

If there are substantial differences in length and differences in word order between the Romanian and the Greek texts, the melodic line is no longer dependent on the original one, losing any resemblance.

Other changes are due to rhetorical reasons. Thus, the word “heaven” is associated to a high-pitched cadence, the cadence on *di*, while low-pitched cadences (*pa*⁴, and perfect cadences on pitches below *pa*) are fit for nouns such as “hell”, “(the) dead”, “darkness”, or verbs that suggest downward movement: “prostrate”, “fall”. One must notice that the way in which Macarie modified cadences for rhetorical reasons is rather aleatory. Thus, the word “heavens” appears six times in the analysed material.²⁴ It is associated with an imperfect cadence on *di* as follows: in two cases with Petros, in another two cases only with Macarie, in one case with both, and in no case with either of them.

²⁴ In order to have a more clear situation, I counted the occurrence in the *Eothinon* too.



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carie there are certain musical phrases that differ from the Greek source, but resemble, or are even identical to, their equivalents in Mihalache's *Anastasimatarion* (e.g. the beginning of the first *sticheron* for vespers). This fact suggests Macarie's fragmentary borrowing from Mihalache's version, in written and/or oral forms.

Often, but not always, a literary passage appears several times in the Romanian version associated with the same melody, even if the melody is different from that in the Greek source, as in the case of some final *kola* from the *aposticha* and *stichera* of Lauds, associated with the P4 formula by Macarie. A similar situation may be observed with the phrase *ὅτι αὐτός ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν*, which appears identical in the second and third *stichera anastasima* for Vespers, connected to a cadence on a low di. Macarie took over the formula, but attached it to the previous phrase in the second *sticheron*, probably considering it more suitable to an association with the word "(the) dead".²⁵ The text *că Acela este Dumnezeuul nostru* (*ὅτι αὐτός ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν*) appears, with him too, identical in the two *stichera* (and identical to Mihalache's version²⁶), but this time devoid of the association with an expressive cadence, as in the Greek original.

²⁵ The association of the word (here: [the] dead) with a cadence in a specific register, although the general idea (here *The resurrection from the dead*) may suggest a cadence in the opposite register, is quite frequent in nineteenth century compositions. On the other hand, the cadence in the low register may suggest precisely the Resurrection, similar to the way in which the Orthodox icon of the Resurrection depicts the Savior's descent into hell.

²⁶ With Mihalache, the two phrases differ very slightly in the initial part.

Particular attention is paid by Macarie to formulae with limited occurrence. Their rarer utilization enables the listeners to notice them more easily, which turns them into marks of the *sticheron*. Macarie made certain that rare formulae from Petros' *Anastasimatarion* were present at the same place in his own *Anastasimatarion*, or at least in the same part of the respective *sticheron*.²⁷ Thus, the pa4 cadences used by Petros may be found at the same points of Macarie's text. Of Petros' 12 P1 cadences, 9 occupy the same place with Macarie, and one closes the following musical period. P4 cadences appear three times with Petros, all of them in *Dogmatikon*: one at the beginning of the chant, the other two at its end, in immediate succession. Macarie uses the first and the third at the same point of the literary text. Reciprocally, most of the formulae that appear in limited numbers with Macarie (pa1 and P3, each five times), are kept at the same point (in four cases) as in the Greek original, or nearby (in four cases).

So, if we consider the cadence formulae of Macarie only, 45% of them are the same as the ones used by Petros; 17% are different because of the different accentuation of the Romanian and Greek texts; 8% are new cadences, because the Romanian and the Greek *kola* had considerably different length; 8% were taken over from Mihalache's version or from other *stichera* in Macarie's *Anastasimatarion*; 6% were changed due to rhetorical and other reasons. For the remaining 17% of the cases I cannot provide an explanation for the change; it is likely that Macarie did not intend to preserve as many cadences as possible but only a significant part of them.

Macarie's mastery is revealed in the fashion in which he combines and balances the adaptation possibilities described above. For instance, the pa4 cadence, unfolding in the low register, appears four times with Petros, associated with an accent on the last syllable. Macarie preserves the cadence in all these situations (one by keeping the accent on the last syllable, three times by shifting it onto the penultimate syllable). Another eight pa4 cadences are present with Macarie (six of them have the accent on the last syllable, and two on the

²⁷ With the exception of the cadence formulae in high and low di which, as mentioned above, are used for rhetorical reasons.

antepenultimate syllable). Out of the eight, to seven (including the two with accents on the antepenultimate syllable) correspond texts that may be underscored by a melodic line in the low register: *sins, hell, underneath, we prostrate ourselves, you suffered*.

In conclusion, Macarie observed the following rules when adapting the *stichera*: the partition of the preexistent Romanian text in a similar way to that in which musical cadences divide the Greek text; the attribution of the same cadence formulae as in the corresponding Greek passages to the fragments thus obtained; the correlation of cadence formulae with a particular position of accents in the last three syllables (the last two rules usually not being used at the same time, due to the different positions of accented syllables in Greek and Romanian). Under certain, mainly rhetorical, circumstances, these rules were departed from. Last, but not least, Macarie enjoyed some freedom in adapting the chant, presuming to stray from the original melodic line to a certain extent.

The second edition of Petros' *Anastasimatarion* in Romanian was issued in 1848 by Dimitrie Suceveanu. Some of the chants were taken from Macarie's volume identically or with very minor changes while others were adaptations by Suceveanu of hymns—most of them *stichera*—in the Greek *anastasimataria* printed in the 1830s and 1840s.²⁸

Suceveanu's *stichera* were composed both in the short melismatic (*argosyntomon*) and syllabic (*syntomon*) styles. Concerning the first mode, the four *aposticha* and their *Theotokion* are syllabic and the other ones are short melismatic.

The short melismatic *stichera* are very close to those by Petros Lampadarios. However, there are a few differences. The short cadence formulae pa5 and pa6 were seldom used by Suceveanu: only six times altogether. On the contrary, the P4 formula was used very often, being the most frequently encountered of all, even of the final cadences: over 70% of the final cadences use

²⁸ For the sources of Dimitrie Suceveanu's *Anastasimatarion* see Moisil 2002. There are a few differences between these Greek *anastasimataria*, but they may be neglected in this research; I used a reprint of Ioannis Lampadarios (*Protopsaltis*'s) edition Πέτρος 2002).

a P4 formula. Some formulae—most often pa3 and pa2—could be found also in a chromatic variant.

Suceveanu did not obey Petros' rule of enchaining the phrases in a period: he sometimes put a ga cadence right after an imperfect pa one. Neither did he strictly observe the rule of connecting a formula with a particular accentuation but only partially, following the way of Macarie the Hieromonk.



Fig. 5.8

Suceveanu's phrases are slightly shorter than Macarie's and the ones in Greek sources. His means of shortening were to eliminate pa5 and pa6 cadences (which turned a six-beat or four-beat formula into a three-beat or two-beat formula respectively), and to "crowd" syllables into a formula (see Fig. 5.8; up: Εφέσιος 1999: 11, Macarie 1823a: 11, Sucevanul 1848: 14; middle: Macarie 1823a: 26 and down: Sucevanul 1848: 33–34).

The rate of concordance of place and pitch of a cadence is higher than with Macarie: 85% for the cadence place and 76% for the cadence pitch.²⁹ Suceveanu usually maintained the place where Macarie cadenced—except for pa5 and pa6 cadences—but also made a few corrections in order to fit in to the modified

²⁹ When reckoning also pa5 and pa6 formulae, the ratios are 79% and 68% respectively.

cadences in the Greek source (cadences that are different in Ioannis' and Petros Efesios' editions).

At least half of the cadences encountered in the same place but on another pitch than in the Greek source were taken over from Macarie or were changed for rhetorical reasons.

The percentage of concordant cadence formulae is similar to the one of Macarie: about 40%.³⁰ Half of the cadences that take place on the same pitch but use a different formula than those in Ioannis' *Anastasimatarion*, could be explained by a difference of accentuation between the Greek and the Romanian texts. Moreover, three of four cadences on the same pitch but with a different formula can be explained by a difference of accentuation and/or by Suceveanu's will to preserve the cadence formulae of Macarie and/or Mihalache.

Suceveanu did not pay attention in keeping rare cadences. In turn, he was interested in preserving the cadences introduced in the later editions of the Greek *anastasimataria* (but not pa5 and pa6 cadences): 11 of 16 modifications (cadences in Ioannis' edition that differ from the ones in Efesios').³¹

Concerning Suceveanu's cadence formulae only, 37% of them are the same as those in the Greek original; 32% are different because of the different accentuation of the Romanian text or because they preserve Mihalache's or Macarie's formulae; 31% differ for other reasons.

Suceveanu's *stichera* in syllabic style do not provide enough data in order to take relevant conclusions on the adaptation. They suggest though that Suceveanu used the same approach in adapting both short melismatic and syllabic *stichera*, although the percentage of concordance is smaller in the case of the latter: 74% for the place, 65% for the pitch and 27% for the formula of a cadence. Suceveanu does not seem to associate a syllabic formula with a particular accent.

The third *anastasimatarion* analysed here was the one composed by Dionysios Foteinos in 1809, and transcribed in Chrysanthine notation and adapted

³⁰ Only 33% if reckoning also the pa5 and pa6 formulae.

³¹ I left aside the cadences that might be explained as taken over from Macarie.

into Romanian by his pupil Anton Pann. I compared the Romanian printed edition (Pann 1854d) with the Greek one recently edited by Nicolae Gheorghîță (Φωτεινός 2009). For the third *sticheron* of the Lauds, which does not appear in Gheorghîță's edition—because it does not appear in ms. 741 (527), Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, either—I used the variant in Foteinos' autograph, ms. gr. 185—M 198, Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, f. 189v.

Like Suceveanu's *Anastasimatarion*, Foteinos' includes both short melismatic and syllabic *stichera*. Only four *stichera* are syllabic in the first mode: the *aposticha* (their *Theotokion* being short melismatic).



Fig. 5.9.

For the short melismatic *stichera* Foteinos used a different musical material than Petros Lampadarios: about half of the phrases used formulae not listed in Figure 5.2, and formulae such as pa3, ga2 and P1 which were frequent with Petros were rare with Foteinos. Petros' composition rules were almost always observed by Foteinos. Pann usually observed them too. However, he sometimes broke the rhythm of four-beat, for example, in order to make room for one more syllable (see Fig. 5.9, up: Φωτεινός 2009: 8; down: Pann 1854d: 10).

The rate of concordance of cadences is very high: 85% for the cadence place, 82% for the cadence pitch, and 64% for the cadence formula.³² The fact that

³² 64% is also the percentage of Pann's cadences that have the same formulae as those by Foteinos.

Pann did not associate a formula with a particular accentuation—though Foteinos generally did—explains the very high rate of concordance of formulae.

A high rate is to be found in the case of syllabic *stichera* too: 80% for the place, 70% for the pitch, and 53% for the formula of cadence. 24 of the 42 formulae with Pann (57%) are the same as with Foteinos, and another three (7%) were changed due to rhetoric reasons.

In conclusion, when adapting *stichera* in the *anastasimatarion* in mode 1, Romanian chanters observed most of the composition rules of the Greek original. Modifications usually concerned metrical aspects and had as a result the alienation of the standard shape of cadence formulae in which a syllable takes two or four beats as the case may be. The proportion of some cadences differed between the original and the Romanian adaptation: P4 was very popular with Romanians while pa1 was seldom used.

Romanian adapters kept the original division into musical phrases in about 80% of the cases. Often, though not always, departure from the Greek segmentation was made in order to divide the Romanian text in a more balanced way, with phrases of comparable size. To a close extent, cadences were made on the same pitch; in most of the cases, the change of the original cadence was done for rhetorical reasons.

The adaptation of the first part of the phrase did not pose any special problem. For the second part—the cadence formula—the adapter had to choose between keeping the original cadence and keeping the rule of associating a formula with a particular accentuation. While in the previous century Mihalache had preferred the former solution, Pann chose the later and Macarie and Suceveanu were in between: about 35% to 65% of the original cadences were kept, depending on the chanter. This ratios are fairly larger than the ones concerning the concordance between two unrelated *anastasimataria* (15% in the afore-mentioned case of Petros' and Pann's) or between the accentuation of Greek

and Romanian texts (25%).³³ A few cadences were taken over from an earlier adaptation of the *anastasimatarion*. Last but not least, a faithful adaptation did not mean perfect identity—almost a quarter of the cadence formulae being chosen by the adapter irrespective of the original ones.

The analysis of the adaptation of *stichera anastasima* shows that the Romanian chanters acted so as to preserve the original melody. The analysis explains the differences between the original and the adapted variants and indicates that most of differences are due to technical reasons and could not be interpreted as the consequence of adaptation to a presupposed national character.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL CHURCH MUSIC (1862–1914)³⁴

The construction of the Romanian national church music started by applying the label *national* to the extant church music of the Romanians and by describing it from a nationalist point of view. The music remained the same, only the way the Romanians perceived it—at first the elites, then ordinary people as well—changed. In the 1870s, the Romanians considered themselves an affirmed nation; hence, they needed to have a specific church music. The most appropriate for this position was the Byzantine chant: it was sufficiently widespread in the country, it had an honourable standing (it required a certain level of training and used certain

³³ For the concordance of the accentuation (the position of the last accented syllable in a colon) between Greek and Romanian texts, I considered it sufficient to count only the 13 *stichera* for Vespers and *aposticha*.

³⁴ A concise version of this subchapter was presented at the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music (ISOCM, Joensuu, 2009) and published as Moisil 2010d. Some ideas were exposed as well in the paper “The Role of the Nationalism in Modeling the Romanian Chant before the First World War. The Case of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostome presented at the First International Conference of the Congress of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology, Athens, 2007 (www.asbmh.pitt.edu/page12/Moisil.pdf, accessed 11.11.2011).

notation) and it was considered as having been employed since *the old times* by the Romanians.

The next step was imagining a harmonic music in line with the national chant. The national church music would thus include two branches—multivocal and monodic—, would be defined by specific musical traits and would reflect the characteristics of the nation. The last phase of the construction consisted in a series of actions meant to introduce the imagined national music in churches, the result being this time the actual change of church music.

Imagining the national church music and introducing it into the church service unfolded in parallel throughout the entire time period under examination; naturally, with a certain lag between them. The image of this music kept changing in time—it is actually still changing—and the musicians, as well as the authorities, were concerned with bringing to reality the new version of the imagined model.

Imagining a national church music

A short while after the birth of the national state, the first testimonies about a change in the image of church music appeared. As I showed in Chapter 3, for Ioanne Dem. Petrescu, then for bishops Melchisedek and Nifon, for Alexandru Luca and Ion Popescu-Pasărea, the Romanian chant has a specific character, whose origins reside in the peculiar character of the Romanian nation. This view is fundamentally different from that held by the chanters from the first half of the century—but also from that held by some after 1900, such as Niculae M. Popescu—, for whom the Romanian chant was nothing but the traditional chant of the Church, with a Romanian text. While for Macarie the Hieromonk and his contemporaries, the connection between the chant from the Romanian churches and that of the Holy Fathers, inspired by the Holy Spirit and used until recently at Athos, in Constantinople and in other parts of the Orthodox world, was essential, Petrescu and those after him were more interested in the way in which this chant was adapted to the Romanians' taste and to their musical sense and in the measures that had to be taken for the church music to reflect the people's origin

and its national genius.

Among the characteristics of the national church chant, Petrescu and his successors counted piety, simplicity, sweetness, the absence of external figures (*of the things Turkish*), traits mentioned in the preface of the *Heirmologion* by Macarie the Hieromonk, where from they may have been taken. They shared Macarie's view according to which these traits distinguished the Romanian chant from the modern Greek trend after Petros Lampadarios. However, unlike Macarie, they ascribed a particular (national) character to the chant in Romanian, including the one before the mid-eighteenth century.

The examined writers considered that the plurivocal version of the national church music should have been based on the monodic version, whose melodies it should harmonise or at least imitate, preserving thus the national traits.³⁵ The combination between the Oriental melody and the Western harmony was meant to reflect on the one hand the Eastern roots and the aspirations of a modern European nation and on the other hand the Orthodox character and the noble Latin origin.

The national music devised by bishop Melchisedek and accepted by the Synod would use selectively the Romanian chant repertoire: the chants which were "the best and most suited to our old national chant" (Melchisedek 1882: 45). The image of the "hard core" of the national chants changed at the beginning of the twentieth century: if, before, Macarie the Hieromonk's works had been considered examples of Romanian national church music, after 1900 those of Pann started to take their place.

Last but not least, in Melchisedek's view, embraced by several of the pre-war writers examined, the national church music had to be uniform, because a nation demanded cultural unity.

The way in which scholars outlined the image of the Romanian church music corresponds to the way myths are treated when passing from *ethnie* to

³⁵ Except Ioanne Dem. Petrescu, for whom the monodic chant could be a temporary solution until the elaboration of a national harmonic repertoire, the examined writers are of the opinion that both components should be present in church.

nation, in Anthony D. Smith's description. Myths and memories present at Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann—the glorious past of the Romanian's church music, the decadence of the Constantinople chant after Petros Lampadarios, the traits of the Romanian music, the external figures, the endeavour to introduce the chant in Romanian, and so on—were adopted, reinterpreted according to the nationalist ideology, combined with others (including some about Macarie and Pann) and presented according to a standard history, in the second half of the 19th century. The way in which this history was disseminated outside the circle of church leaders and the way in which the ordinary people came to identify themselves with the national church music will be discussed, alongside other matters, in the next sections.

The role of the State in the emergence and dissemination of the national church music

I showed above that the Romanian national church music came about by merely applying the label *national* to the Byzantine music in Romanian. I also discussed the traits of the national music imagined by the musicians from the ecclesiastical world. These meant a change only at the level of discourse, while the music performed in church remained the same. I shall examine next the actions that led to the actual change in church music, actions for which the main entity responsible was, most often, the State. One must remark that changes in the chant following some similar actions also occurred before the 19th century;³⁶ however, the change that happened around 1900 was essentially different, its particulars being given exactly by the emergence of the modern state and the nationalism ideology.

One of the first measures taken by the government (1863)³⁷ was banning

³⁶ For instance, the decision of some rulers to print worship books in Romanian, triggered the development of the chant in this language and the decline of the one in Slavonic.

³⁷ For most of the events mentioned in this subchapter, the bibliographic references were already given in Chapter 2.

the chant in any other language but Romanian.³⁸ Thus, the chant in Greek lost its dominant position symbolically, compared to the one in Romanian. The exodus of the Greek monks from the dedicated churches, whose fortunes had been secularized, deepened the loss of the prestige for the chant in Greek and at the same time of the Greek chanters and of the Greek compositions. The government's decision consolidated the tie between the church chant and language, an element of ethnical and national identity easily noticeable by any believer, irrespective of their musical competence. It also shaped the national territory at the musical level: the territory of the Romanian nation could be defined as that in which one sang Romanian in church, not Greek or Slavonic.

The State worked for the popularization of harmonic choirs. It founded centres for teaching "vocal music" [i.e. harmonic music], such as the Conservatory of Music and Declamation (Bucharest and Jassy, 1864), and obliged chanters to attend the classes (the decree of Cuza in 1865). At first, the obligation applied only to the Bucharest chanters, canonarchs and vergers, but the stated intention of the decree was to introduce harmonic music in all churches in Romania. Also, according to the 1864 law, the choral harmonic music became an object of study in all eight seminaries in Romania. By means of the educational system, the government intended to spread the model used in churches from the main cities to the periphery.

The state made sure that the harmonic music was taught not only in the church milieu, but also in the lay one (in which religious education played nevertheless an important part). A collection of chants for the Divine Liturgy, arranged for two voices by Alexandru Podoleanu, was printed in 1889 with the mention "Approved by the Holy Synod and by the Honorable Religious Affairs and Public Instruction for the primary school grades in the country" (Podoleanu 1889). Starting with 1899, the students from the non-theological secondary education were becoming familiar with the harmonic church music as well, and sometimes sang it during church service. Since 1908, learning the three-part

³⁸ Slavonic at Neamț and other monasteries, where many Russian and Ukrainian monks lives, was forbidden even before, in 1859 (Popovici 2007: 113).

church pieces and performing them regularly at the Sunday service became mandatory for the rural primary school pupils.

The State supported Church choirs and schools financially. The seminaries and the secondary education were funded by the state through the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction; the same for the primary education, which, in addition to that, was free for all pupils. In 1864, the Jassy Metropolitan Choir was joined to the Conservatory and benefited from a special amount of money stipulated in the state budget. Sometimes, the support was given indirectly: for instance, during 1860–1862, the ministers of Religious Affairs and Instruction promised a raise in the salaries of the nuns from Agapia and Varatic, on condition that they follow the harmonic music classes held by Ioan Cartu (Burada 1974f: 283, 293; Moldoveanu 1991: 132).

Other financial help was directed to the distribution of church chant and choir books. A number of copies from the *Liturgy* of Cartu, printed in Bucharest in 1865, were acquired by the ministry and donated to the churches from Bucharest and Jassy, to the Bucharest Conservatory (for the religious-harmonic choir class) and to the deserving students of this conservatory (30 students in 1865–1866 and 17 in 1867–1868; Ionescu 1985: 254, 256). Also, the chants harmonised for three voices by Ion Popescu-Pasărea in the early-twentieth century were printed and distributed countrywide on the state's expense (Breazul 1970d: 30; Popescu-Pasărea 1911a: 811–812).

The State also helped spread the image of the national Church music described in the previous section. As I showed in Chapter 1, elementary education had been compulsory and free since 1864 and pupils started to be taught in the national spirit, making them more likely to accept the idea of a national Church music.

At the same time, the government took care to discourage those who might react against its will to replace the traditional order with a modern one. The laws adopted in the early 1860s (see Chapter 1) considerably reduced the financial power of the monasteries, the most traditionalist centers. Moreover, some monasteries were closed and the possibility of becoming a monk was severe

restricted. The abbots and bishops who did not wish to cooperate with the regime were forced to resign (Păcurariu 1994, 3: 111, Moldoveanu 1991: 133). Last but not least, the government proclaimed the Romanian Church autocephalous, breaking administrative ties with Constantinople. These measures, whose main purpose was the decrease of Church power and its subjection to the government's control, had as an indirect consequence the dilution of the traditional chant and the developing and spreading of the national Church music.

Thus, the State was a very active participant in the emergence and dissemination processes of the national church music. By means of the educational system, using administrative measures, reprisals and financial support, the State tried, and succeeded to a large extent, to replace in the Orthodox churches on its territory—for the Divine Liturgy, the most important service, to which the participation of the citizens was the highest—the traditional Byzantine chant with a music in agreement with the nationalism ideology: a uniform music countrywide, sang only in the language of the nation, considered distinct from the various kinds of religious music of the other nations (but sharing with them the presence of harmony), a music of the centre imposed to the periphery. This music can be considered one of the identity elements from the *checklist* described by Thiesse (see Introduction), which each modern national state took care to produce and teach its citizens to identify with, by means of a standardized mass public education.

The construction of Romanian national church music: chronology and conclusions

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the music in the Romanian churches was seen as indistinct from the Orthodox one from other parts of the Ottoman Empire, with its roots in the chant of the Holy Fathers inspired by the Holy Spirit.

On the backdrop of older tension between the Phanariotes—recently chased away from power from the Principalities, but still very much present in the church structures—and the indigenous people, Macarie the Hieromonk mentioned in 1823 some differences between the new trend from the Greeks' chant in

Constantinople and the Romanians' chant. According to Macarie, the former was strongly influenced by lay elements, while the latter had not drifted away from the traditional line. A similar distinction between the Constantinople style, in which "external" Asian figures were present, and the Romanian one, closer to the Athonite style, was made by Anton Pann in 1845. However, the two chanters did not speak about an opposition between the Greek and the Romanian chant—as it was often misread—but between a trend in much fashion at Constantinople and the traditional church chant.

The time period 1820–1860 was the one in which the repertoire of the Great Church of Christ (written by Petros Lampadarios, Daniil Protopsaltis etc.) was adapted into Romanian, printed and taught in the chant schools in Romanian. In the chanters' view back then, the adapted chants were identical to the Greek originals. From the perspective of today's musicologists however, there are significant differences, especially regarding the syllabic and short-melismatic chants. These dissimilarities are most often due to the differences in text length and in the position of the grammatical stress in the end of a *kolon*, between the Romanian and the Greek versions.

The relatively wide dissemination (compared to the previous periods) of the chant volumes in Romanian allowed the achievement of imagined communities (in Benedict Anderson's view) of Romanian chanters: chanters who did not know each other and had never sung together, felt united by the fact that they interpreted *the same* score, which they knew was used all over Wallachia or Moldavia. Naturally, it would be a stretch to ascribe to the language of these volumes a role similar to what the print-languages had in shaping the nations (Anderson 1995: 43–46), but it is worth highlighting the fact that it contributed to the emergence of the idea that the Romanians had a specific music, distinct from that of the other nations.

Starting with the time of the Russian protectorate, the Principalities drew closer to Europe in a fast rhythm. Concerning church music, the most visible effect was the emergence of harmonic choirs (the first of them in 1836). If they wanted to be a part of the select club of European nations, the Romanians had to

demonstrate that they share the values of the former, including a “civilised” harmonic music. The church choirs in parts had been regarded reticently for a long time; they seem to have been accepted by most townspeople as late as the end of the century, when the urban society had become European to a significant extent, including musically.

After 1860, the nationalist ideas were disseminated among the masses through the free and mandatory education system. The pupils were taught to be proud they were Romanian and they shared certain national characteristics, to identify themselves as Romanian rather than as Orthodox and to be distrustful of foreigners. Against this background, the idea of a national music specifically Romanian, an idea that appeared towards the middle of the century, spread and became widely accepted in the 1880s.

The obligation of using Romanian for the chants (since 1863) made it easier for the dissemination of the view according to which the church music of the Romanians and those of the Greeks and of the Slavs are essentially different.

As the economic and social context changed, the position of chanter became less and less attractive, and the Byzantine chant started its decline. When in 1881, bishop Melchisedek presented to the Synod his lecture on church music, the latter was going through a crisis and the bishops were looking for solutions to revitalise it. The proposal of Melchisedek was for the State and the Church to support the development of what he called “our church chant that can be truly named national, because it is popular and has become identified with the taste and religious sense of the Romanians”. The bishop’s approach became common in the years that followed: the Byzantine chant adapted into Romanian by Macarie the Hieromonk and his successors was regarded as national chant, with peculiar characteristics that distinguished it from that of the other nations (particularly the Greek one and, secondly, the Russian one) and they wished for a number of pieces—“the best and most compliant with our national old chant”—to be sung, in a monodic version or harmonised, in the whole country.

The dissemination of a national repertoire throughout the country was accomplished by the free distribution—and in a large number—of chant books

and by the village pupils' obligation to sing them. Several works were distributed in a very large number: the one printed by bishop Nifon in 1902 and the collections elaborated by Ion Popescu-Pasărea. Nifon's volume (see Chapter 3), which contained chants and three-part pieces for the Liturgy, was issued in 10,000 copies and distributed freely to chanters and priests all over the country. Popescu-Pasărea published from 1902 on several volumes for the Liturgy and Great Saturday Matins (the Service of the *Epitaphios*), for one, two or three voices³⁹; some of them were financed and distributed by the Ministry of Education.

Beside the free distribution of the repertoire, an important role was played by the decision of the Ministry of Education which stipulated that the village pupils should sing this repertoire on Sunday at the Liturgy. Popescu-Pasărea was appointed to teach the Liturgy chants "based on the ancient church music" to the pupils and schoolteachers from the Ilfov county, in the summer of 1907. The pilot program was a success and the ministry extended it to the whole country, appointed Popescu-Pasărea organiser of the church choirs from villages (where over 80% of the population lived) and decided the printing of the Liturgy books above mentioned (Popescu-Pasărea 1911a: 811–812). Thus, bishop Melchisedek's desire for the same church music to be heard all over the country would become reality a few years before the First World War. This music reflected not only the uniform character of the nation (it was the same throughout the whole territory reigned by the nation), but also its democratic character: any pupil could sing it, regardless of gender, wealth or social standing, unlike the past times, when the church chant had been the prerogative of an elite, the chanters. It is relevant to mention the fact that the shift to mass participation in performing church music took place approximately in the same period when they shifted from the suffrage based on qualification to the universal one: as the nation was being constructed,

³⁹ The Liturgy chants were printed in 1905 (for one voice), 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911 (for three voices; rarely, one can find chants for one voice) and 1914 (for two voices), and those of the Service of the *Epitaphios* in 1902 (for one voice), 1910 and 1911 (for several voices). Both were reprinted after 1914 as well, the date my research for this thesis ends (Frangulea 2004: 114–124, 399–401).

more Romanians were asked to act as its members.

The desire for musical uniformity in churches all over the country made the uniform repertoire to be narrow and simple. Many chanters had limited competence and educating them or others was hindered by the limited financial resources. The uniformity of the chant was done to the highest common level, but that was, actually, rather low: the level of primary school pupils. Also, in order to be able to be learnt easily, it was desirable for the pieces of the repertoire not to be very different from those that the pupils throughout the country knew; consequently, from the tonal pieces that they learnt in school. Hence, the desire to have the same music all over the country, in the social context from around 1900, led to a simple repertoire and to a large extent close to the Western music.

Around half of the chants from the 1914 edition of Popescu-Pasărea are included—in a monodic version or harmonised differently—in Nifon’s volume as well. Popescu-Pasărea’s chants and, secondly, others from Nifon’s book made up the repertoire that would be found in the chant books and in the church usage from the interwar period (editions reprinted by Popescu-Pasărea) and especially from the post-war one (the so-called “uniformed” repertoire, elaborated by a committee presided by Nicolae Lungu). In Table 5.2 I recorded with various symbols (*, ^, # and @), for each category of pieces, the Liturgy chants that can be met in the volumes edited by Nifon, Ion Popescu-Pasărea (the 1914 edition, harmonised for two voices) and by Nicolae Lungu and his collaborators (the first edition from 1951 and a recent reprint of the edition published several times in the 60s).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ I did not include in the table a few chants that can be met only in one or two volumes: *Dynamis*, *Întru mulți ani* (Εἰς πολλά ἔτη), *Iubi-Te-voi*, *Doamne* (Αγαπήσω σε Κύριε), the Creed and *Pre Stăpânul* (Τον Δεσπότην), all in a monodic version, and the *apolytikion* of St. Nicholas, *Întru mulți ani* (Εἰς πολλά ἔτη) and the „*koinonikon*” *Cât de mărit [este Domnul în Sion]* (Praised [Is the Lord in Sion]), in harmonic version, from Nifon 1902; *Bine este cuvântat* (Ευλογημένος ο ερχόμενος) from Popescu-Pasărea 1914; the First Antiphon for Feasts, the Blessings, *Apărătoare Doamnă* (Τη υπερμάχω), *Bine este cuvântat* (Ευλογημένος ο ερχόμενος), *Pre Stăpânul* (Τον Δεσπότην) and *Mulți ani trăiască* (Εἰς πολλά ἔτη) in Lungu 1951 și Costea 1996.

Table 5.2 The pieces for the Divine Liturgy of the national repertoire

Piece	Nifon 1902 (monody)	Nifon 1902 (3 voices)	Popescu- Pasărea 1914	Lungu 1951	Coste a 1996	Presuma- ble author ⁴¹
Litany	*	^	^	^	^	^ Șt. Popescu
Antiphon 1 (mode 1 plagal)	*		*	*	*	* Nicolae Aposto- lescu
Antiphon 1 (mode 4 plagal)	^	^			^	^ I. Naniescu/ Nectarie Frimu
Antiphon 2 (mode 1 plagal)	*		*	*	*	* Șt. Popescu
Antiphon 2 (mode 4 plagal)		^			^	^ Nectarie Frimu
Antiphon 2 (mode <i>varys</i>)	# (Șt. Popescu)					
<i>Veniți să ne închinăm</i> (Δεύτε προσκυνήσουμε)	*		*	^ #	^	* Anton Pann
<i>Doamne mântuește</i> (Κύριε σώσον)	*		*	*	*	* Anton Pann
<i>Trisagion</i>	*	^	#	#	#	#

⁴¹ See Chapter 4, subchapter *The Traditional Trend in Harmonised Music*.

	(3 variants)					Ghelasie
<i>Câți în Hristos</i> (Όσοι εις Χριστόν)	*	^		*	*	* Anton Pann
<i>Crucii Tale</i> (Το σταυρόν σου)	*	^		#	#	* Anton Pann
Hallelujah	*	^	#	*	*	* Anton Pann
<i>Mărire Ție,</i> <i>Doamne</i> (Δόξα σοι Κύριε)		*	^	^	^	^ Popescu- Pasărea
Litany of Fervent Supplication (Podoleanu)		*	*	*	*	* choir in Chișinău
Litany of Fervent Supplication (Cartu)		#				
Cherubic Hymn	* (4 variants)	^ (2 variants)	#	#	#	# Popescu- Pasărea
<i>Leitourgika</i> (Naniescu)	*		*		*	* Iosif Naniescu
<i>Leitourgika</i>		^		^	^	^ Anton

(Pann)						Pann/ O. Deme- trescu
<i>Leitourgika</i> (M. Ionescu)	#					
<i>Megalynarion</i>	* (7 variants)		@ (Popescu -Pasărea)	@	@	@ Popescu- Pasărea
		^ (Varlaam)			^	
		# (Wachmann)				
<i>Our Father</i>	*	*		*	*	Anton Pann
<i>Unul sfânt</i> (Εἰς Ἄγιος)	*	^	#	#	#	# Șt. Popescu
<i>Văzut-am</i> <i>lumina</i> (Εἶδομεν το Φῶς)	*	^	*	#	#	* Anton Pann
<i>Fie numele</i> <i>Domnului</i> (Εἰς το ὄνομα Κυρίου)	*	^	#	@	@	* Anton Pann # Popescu- Pasărea

The repertoire from the 1914 edition by Popescu-Pasărea included a single chant version for each liturgical moment; also, the “uniformed” editions from the post-war period rarely offered a second version. Some chants were close to the Byzantine chant (some were even faithful adaptations of the Constantinople models), but many were modern compositions, influenced by tonality or the

modes of the Oriental lay music (see also Chapter 4, subchapter *The Traditional Trend in Harmonised Music*). Hence, although the repertoire emerged as a consequence of bishop Melchisedek's appeal to include "the best and most compliant [pieces] with our national old chant", it was actually an eclectic one, partly modern, characterised not by particular Romanian traits, but by a certain simplicity that could make it accessible to non-professional chanters.

The unitary character of the church chant was achieved not only by creating a standard repertoire, but also by a symbolic valuing of certain chants—for instance, the *heirmoi* of the ninth ode by Macarie the Hieromonk—and composers (Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann, and so on), according to aesthetic, but also nationalist, criteria. The appreciation shown to a piece resided in the fact that it was the only piece (or among the few) of its kind from a collection or in the fact that it had been harmonised by several composers (e.g. the *Leitourgika* by Pann, harmonised by Gheorghe Ionescu, D.G. Kiriak, and Theodor Georgescu). The appreciation for one composer came both from the large number of works selected in a collection, and from the praise shown in publications. It is sensible to assume that the history of church music from Nifon's volume was read by at least some of the 10,000 intended readers and it contributed to the dissemination of the idea that the Romanian church music had a national character.

To conclude, the Romanian national church music was constructed together with the Romanian nation, starting with the second half of the nineteenth century. The Romanian intellectuals imagined it similarly to other elements of national identity, taking and reinterpreting older myths and adding to them new ones. The State endorsed the dissemination of this image and took action for the music in churches to conform to it. Thus, one managed to make up a Liturgy repertoire which was simple, limited and eclectic, perceived as national and spread almost all over the country before the First World War. This repertoire would be the hard core of the national church music to be, extended during the communist time at the level of the other divine services.

CONCLUSIONS

I examined in this thesis the matter of the national church music in Romania, in the prewar period. The first part of my research (Chapter 3) focused on the way in which the chanters, bishops, historians or musicologists regarded the Romanian church music of the nineteenth century (more precisely until the First World War). I showed that the image of this music changed in time—since the emergence of the Romanian modern state until today—not so much due to the discovery of new scientific evidence, as to the ideological and political changes. During the times when nationalism flourished (the formation of the state Romania and the obtaining of independence, the ascension of the far right movement the Iron Guard before World War II, the Ceaușescu's national-communism), the matter of the national chant was more present and more passionately discussed. Outside these time periods, there was less interest directed towards the specific elements of the Romanian chant and, at the same time, the concern about the connection with the church music of the other nations grew.

Almost all investigated writers accept the existence of a Romanian national church music, either using the term *national chant*, or talking about the national character of the Romanian church music or about the nationalization process it experienced. Most of them consider the nineteenth century as a time period when the national church music was created, even if, sometimes, they admit the existence of a national chant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or even earlier, or even if they believe—as is the case with some of the interwar writers—that its construction is not completely finished.

Generally, by national church music one understands the Byzantine chant adapted into Romanian mainly by Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann and developed by other chanters, both in its original monodic form, and in its harmonised version. Nevertheless, the approach to this matter changed in time. For the first analysed writers, the Romanian chant is national because the members of the nation recognise it as their own: it is popular and has been identified with the Romanian genius. At the beginning of the twentieth century,

the national character acquires central position: its presence seems to be the one that makes the church music national. In the interwar period, the national character is identified especially with the character of the peasant music. In the same time period, Ion Popescu-Pasărea distinguishes the *nationalisation* of the chant—defined by him as an identification with the national spirit of the times and achieved by Anton Pann—from other actions like modelling and Romanianisation, the latter accomplished earlier by Macarie the Hieromonk. After the war, the musicologists are firstly concerned with the *Romanianisation* process—this time the term overlaps to a large degree with that of *nationalisation* in Popescu-Pasărea's acceptance—through which the Byzantine music became a Romanian national music.

The writings examined confirm a tight connection between the church chant and the Romanian nation. The chant is part of the national patrimony and should reflect the nation. It is necessary for the nation to create a personal style in church music and, since the nation involves uniformity, it is necessary for the national church music to be uniform. Also, the church chant contributes to the consolidation of the nation: it nourishes people's nationalism, strengthens the national feeling and plays a part in fostering national awareness.

The Romanian church music is seen as having a series of specific traits, which distinguish it from those of other nations. The traits mentioned refer almost exclusively to the melodic parameters, the harmonic or polyphonic ones being rarely discussed. Before 1900, the traits considered specifically Romanian—simplicity, sweetness, piousness, the presence of rhythm, and so on—are mentioned for distinguishing the national chant from the Greek one. As the Romanian state is consolidated and the nation becomes more self-confident, the authors relate less to the Greeks' music and look for the traits of the national church chant in the Romanian folk music. The Palm Sunday canon, initially regarded as a relic of the Slavonic chant, is regarded, after 1900, as having a Romanian melody. Also specifically Romanian and commonly met in folk music are considered certain scales, among which the harmonic minor with the seventh degree mobile or the *national melody of the first plagal mode* (Popescu-Pasărea).

In the communist period, in which the positivist scientific explanations are particularly appreciated, the researchers look for more specific characteristics, like the high incidence of certain specific intervals determined by the sonority of the Romanian language. Also, the national-communist ideology during the 1970s and the 1980s fosters the increased interest for the chant *Romanianisation* matter, seen as removal of the Oriental elements (Turkish-Persian-Arabic, sometimes Greek also) which were not specific to the Romanian music: chromatic modes, rich ornamentation, large chant size etc.

The image of the national church music personalities and of their creations is also experiencing change. Before the First World War, Macarie the Hieromonk is considered the father of church national music, the one who adapted the chant to the Romanians' taste and cleansed it of Turkish influences, while in Pann's music one can find external figures and elements foreign to the Romanian music. Starting with the interwar period, the hierarchy is reverted: Macarie is considered a faithful adapter of the Greek chants and Pann as one who did free adaptations and identified with the national spirit, cleansing the external figures similar to the Asian ones. Regarding the multivocal music, the disagreements are smaller. It is generally admitted that most of the nineteenth century compositions were of foreign origin and that the national trend was inaugurated by D.G. Kiriace, Gheorghe Ionescu and Teodor Teodorescu.

In the next stage (Chapter 4) I probed the validity of the contemporary musicologists' statements—which are also supported by statements of the chanters before the Second World War—regarding the Romanian chant characteristics. The compared analysis of the Romanian chants with their Greek equivalents has shown that many of these assertions are false. I did not find in the creations and adaptations of the Romanian chanters any reduction of chromatic passages, any consistent abridgement of the chants or a preference for the syllabic style and I showed that the *kratimata* were not eliminated either by Macarie the Hieromonk, or by Anton Pann. Neither did I find a change in the ratio of the intervals considered by Gheorghe Ciobanu as specific to the Romanian chant, invalidating thus his theory according to which the adaptation into Romanian had also meant

an adaptation to the musicality of language (i.e. a preference for certain intervals).

I showed then that pieces considered as examples for their national spirit prove devoid of the characters declared as specifically Romanian (conciseness, lack of melismas etc.) or reveal a foreign origin—Greek (for instance the Palm Sunday Canon) or Western (tonal harmonic compositions by Podoleanu, Bunescu).

I also analysed the prefaces of the volumes edited by Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann and I discovered that some of their statements were misinterpreted by the writers analysed in Chapter 3. I did not find in these prefaces any information that could justify the assertions that the adaptation to the Romanian text had meant an adaptation to the Romanian sensibility or folk music, that Pann had reduced the melismas and had abridged the chants to be closer to the national spirit, that the reduced ornamentation and the chant conciseness were Romanian traits, or that any of the chanters intended to eliminate Greek traits from the church chant.

All these led to the conclusion that the theory of the national church music generally accepted by the Romanian musicology is erroneous. I tried, in Chapter 5, to offer an alternative to this theory, taking into account the transformations that took place in the Romanian society and in its music in the nineteenth century (presented in Chapters 1 and 2) and the current theories regarding the nation (outlined in the Introduction).

I presented in detail the mechanisms for adapting the *stichera* in the first mode from three *anastasimataria* adapted by the most important Romanian chanters before 1860. The research explained the differences between the Greek and the Romanian versions and confirmed the statements of the chanters in this time period—and of several of the musicians analysed in Chapter 3, such as Niculae M. Popescu—according to whom there was no essential difference between the Romanians' chant and that in Greek, and the purpose of the adaptation was to offer a version as close as possible to the original, obeying at the same time the stress of the Romanian text and the chant composition rules.

The national church music is thus not a creation of the chanters from the

first half of the nineteenth century, but rather, it was constructed together with the Romanian nation, starting with the second half of the same century. The national chant was first imagined as an element of national identity, with specific features, distinct from those of the other nations—especially the Greek one, compared to which the differences were the smallest—, taking and reinterpreting myths and memories present in the writings of chanters before 1860. Then, action was taken so that a number of pieces considered congruent with this image should be transposed in a “civilised” version in parts, and disseminated, in both forms, all over the country. Until the First World War, one managed to disseminate a repertoire for the Divine Liturgy—which included pieces usually met in the Capital, simple, most of them recent creations with tonal influences—, to have it taught in the theological schools and in general education and to have it performed by the pupils from the rural areas. This repertoire may be considered the hard core of the national church music that was to develop after the First World War and become known during the communist time under the name of “uniformed” church music. The State contributed administratively and financially, in an essential way, to the formation of the national church music by the popularization—including for primary education—of the modern ideas about nation, of harmonic music, by diminishing the Church power and loosening the ties with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, by the diffusion free of charge of the repertoire and by the decision that pupils should sing it at Sunday service.

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¹ On the cover, the title is written *Muzica bisericească corală la români*.

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